LANGUAGE USAGE AND LANGUAGE POLICIES IN SENEGAMBIA: LOCAL RESPONSES TO THE ANGLOPHONE/FRANCOPHONE DIVISION OF A MULTILINGUAL REGION

by

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A B S T R A C T

In the field of language and education, Senegal and the Gambia exemplify many of the problems facing sub-Saharan Africa. The area is arbitrarily divided by different official languages, which cut across a common and highly complex ethno-linguistic heritage.

The thesis examines ways in which the governments and peoples of Senegal and the Gambia have adopted differing policies and practices to meet these problems. An appraisal is made of how far the use of English and French, as languages of wider communication between these two African states, reflects the overall international function of these languages. The vital role of indigenous languages is considered, particularly where these serve to link peoples divided by national boundaries and colonial experience.

The historical background to the formulation of government language policies introduces the first part of the thesis. Current policy statements relating to official, foreign, classical and local language teaching within the formal educational systems provide a basis for comparing Senegalese and Gambian strategies. Extensive reference is made to official speeches and to interviews with leading government representatives.

The second part of the thesis investigates how far language usage fluctuates according to the types and levels of contact between Senegalese and Gambian informants. This is designed to ascertain the degree to which the status, occupation, education or ethno-cultural ties of those interviewed determine language usage in contact between Senegal and the Gambia. Government archives and traditional oral sources have been consulted, as well as secondary historical, sociological and political materials, in order to assess patterns of language usage within the socio-cultural context of Senegambia.

The thesis thus considers the inter-relationship between language policy and language usage in communication between two neighbouring West African states. Language choice emerges as being governed by principles of flexibility and expedience. The status of English and French is shown to be changing as local languages of wider communication assume greater significance. Their monopoly of formal situations is revealed as no longer absolute, as new linguistic priorities evolve empirically towards less hierarchical solutions.

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

(For abbreviations relating specifically to the Tables, See Note, p.xiv).

(A.) - Arabic

AIPLF - Association Internationale de Parlementaires de Langue Française.

A.O.F. - Afrique Occidentale Française.

ARG - Archives of the Republic of the Gambia.

ARS - Archives of the Republic of Senegal.

AUPELF - Association des Universités Partiellement ou Entièrement de Langue Française.

BELC - Bureau pour l'Enseignement de la Langue et de la Civilisation françaises à l'étranger.

BEPC - Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle (taken four years after beginning secondary school).

BIFAN - Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental de l'Afrique Noire.

CFAO - Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale.

CHEAM - Centre de Hautes Etudes Administratives sur l'Afrique et l'Asie Modernes.

CILF - Conseil International de Langue Française.

CLAD - Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar.

CLCF - Cours de Langue et de Civilisation Françaises.

DUEL I & II - Diplôme Universitaire Etudes Littéraires (taken at the end of the first and second year, respectively, in the Faculty of Arts).

ETIC - English Language Teaching Centre (British Council, London).

(G) - Gambia.

GPMB - Gambia Produce Marketing Board.

IAI - International African Institute.

I.T.A. - International Teaching Alphabet.

IATEFL	- International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language.
(M.)	- Mandinka.
NEA	- Nouvelles Editions Africaines.
ORTS	- Office de Radiodiffusion Télévision du Sénégal.
PPP	- People's Progressive Party.
RP	- Received Pronunciation.
(S)	- Senegal.
S/G	- Senegambia, i.e. Senegal and the Gambia.
SOAS	- School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
UPS	- Union Progressiste Sénégalaise (in 1976, renamed the Parti Socialiste).
(W.)	- Wolof.

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Note on Tables

In the background introducing each informant, primary/secondary/university education is specified in order to denote the extent of formal education in English or French. Quranic traditional education is included for Muslims.

Section (B) must be seen in relation to (C10) so that the areas of Senegambian contact can be interpreted in terms of the language used in mobility across the border. Areas of contact arose from kin and affines, professional occupation, medical needs, religious affiliations or the education of children.

For the language repertoire of each informant, the following abbreviations have been used:
HL1 & HL2 refer to dominant home languages, i.e. first and second languages. LWC is the language of wider communication or lingua franca in the village/town of origin (A3), or the village to which the informant has migrated (A5). In some cases, linguistic categories have been enlarged to illustrate the particular linguistic patterns of the study. For example, in the study on 'Islam and Catholicism' (Tables, II, III, IV) both (C5) and (C7) needed additional divisions for comparative purposes. A distinction is made for the Catholic informants between the language of religious liturgy and the language of public worship, whereas in Table III, the L/Cat (Language used for catechism), L/Confess (Language used for confession) and language of private prayer provide further possible distinctions. The WL (working language) may be a PL (preaching language) or TL (teaching

language) for the clerics interviewed.

Similarly, in other tables the WL may be specifically referred to as Trade L.(trading language), because of the commercial occupation of the informants (Tables X, XI, XVI). The inter-relationship between linguistic flexibility and professional occupation is illustrated in Tables XII & XVIII by making a distinction in (C7) between past and present working languages.

The OL1 is always the official language of the place of birth, with the OL2 being the official language of the speech community of adoption (i.e. to which the informant has migrated).

All the Tables are designed to focus on the S/G LWC (C10): the language(s) that the informant has learnt, or uses, through contact across the border.

In some Tables (VII, VIII, X, XXI), the language repertoires of the informant's children have been included under (D), in order to illustrate the process of language maintenance or language shift among second generation migrants.

Comments under (E) include relevant points of information about the person interviewed, especially when this refers to language acquisition.

Tables XXIII, XXIV, XXV differ slightly from the other tables, since they illustrate villages on both sides of the border that are linked through their origins. In this section, (F) cites the authority of the informant.

The number of informants in each study varies widely from (92) in Table XV, to (1) in Table XXV. This variation arises because the circumstances under which

each study were conducted only allowed for a fluctuating number of interviews. In certain categories, such as the village settlements, only a few informants could be approached because the head of the village generally preferred to act as the spokesman for the community. In other studies, such as the Muslim clerics, only a limited number of interviews could be established, owing to local sensitivities to this kind of approach. Those studies having few informants have nevertheless been included, because of their comparative value with the other tables in the particular section.

The pattern of migration across Senegambia is emphasized where possible by using the abbreviations (S) and (G) to distinguish between Senegalese and Gambian origins and destinations.

Note on Orthography

Place names have followed French and English orthography prevalent in Senegal and the Gambia, respectively.

The adoption of either French- or English-influenced orthography for the names of personalities or informants, cited in the text, relates to the area in which the individual has mainly lived, regardless of place of birth or temporary migration into the neighbouring state. For Arabic terminology, the most current anglicized usage has been adopted, viz., Qur'ān, instead of Koran. In the few cases where a Muslim title precedes the name of a personality, the most customary French or English spelling used in Senegal or the Gambia has been followed (i.e. El Hadj, in the former; Alhaji, in the latter).

Where terms from Senegambian languages have been cited, the Senegalese national orthographies have been followed, the Gambian government not yet having reached a formal decision on this matter. The orthography used for the Wolof language is thus based on the Décret no. 71-566 du 21 mai 1971, relatif à la transcription des langues nationales, complété par le Décret no. 72-702 du 16 juin 1972, and Décret no. 75-1026 du 10 octobre 1975, relatif à l'orthographe et à la séparation des mots en wolof.

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND TO SENEGALO-GAMBIAN LANGUAGE TEACHING POLICIES

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1.1. The divisive colonial cultural legacy

Senegal and the Gambia each use their official language, French and English respectively, as the medium of instruction throughout the formal educational system, but the overall conception of their respective national language policies has been influenced by exposure to different European intellectual traditions. The language teaching policies of Senegal and the Gambia have evolved from experience of the different educational policies pursued by France and Britain in their colonisation of the region. In consequence, the cultural missions of the two powers, which constituted an integral part of the economic and social development of each territory, have served to alienate people with similar ethno-linguistic backgrounds. French and British colonial education policies can in their extreme form be identified as the "contrasting process of differential socialization into two distinct Western cultures" that Asiwaju (1975:435) noted in relation to formal education in Beninese and Nigerian Yorubaland. In Senegal and the Gambia, similar contrasting educational experiences[1] still influence policy-

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1. It should be noted, however, that the Gambia differs from Western Nigeria in that its educational development does not present the same favourable contrast with its 'Francophone' neighbour. Although Asiwaju (1975:40) is justifiably cautious about applying generalisations from his contrastive case studies to British or French West Africa as a whole, he points out that the "tenacity of culture" consistently "imposed clear distinctions between the French and the British, as well as between other national or ethnic groups."

makers on either side of a common boundary, with a significant aspect of each colonial legacy being the particular conception of the role of the language and culture of the metropole in relation to local languages. The particular philosophy behind Senegalese or Gambian national language policy has been influenced by the education of each governing élite under the French or British system. This educational experience has embodied different intellectual traditions that have subsequently affected attitudes to political, economic and social development. The colonial cultural legacy can thus be mutually alienating because representatives of the Senegalese and Gambian governments have been initiated into different ways of thinking and approaching common problems, through the medium of different languages and cultures. The accusation of 'Frenchness', or of being 'anglicisé', made by neighbours who have been exposed to different forms of Western culture through their formal education[1], refers to this same acculturative aspect that has adversely affected Senegalo-Gambian relations at government level.

1.2. Differences in the organisation and management of education.

The comparison of colonial language teaching policies in Senegal and the Gambia is hampered by the imbalance between

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1. This attitude, noted in the past by Van Mook, H.J. et alia (1964:10), Welch, C. (1966:269) and Sy, S.O. (1974:131), is still common among Senegalese and Gambian civil servants interviewed in 1975. See also Grey-Johnson, C., 'Education, Elite-formation and the Senegambia question', IDEP, Dakar, 1973 (R/2585),ch.3: 'Integration and the Elite', in particular p.51 re Gambian antipathies to the Senegalese intellectual tradition.

the two territories in terms of geographical size, population and political significance. Senegal's dominant geographical position, as the neighbour surrounding all the Gambia's territorial boundaries, was enhanced during the colonial epoch by its superior position as the centre of government for Afrique Occidentale Française (A.O.F./French West Africa). The Gambia, on the other hand, was the smallest British colony and protectorate on the West coast. Despite its charter as a separate colony from 1843-1866, and from 1888 onwards,[1] it remained politically, judicially and educationally in the shadow of Sierra Leone throughout the nineteenth century. The difference between Senegal and the Gambia in size and political importance inevitably affected educational development. The more centralised administrative policy in A.O.F. led to a concentration of schools for the region in the Dakar area; whereas, in the Gambia, educational opportunity suffered from more limited government interest and finance, which resulted in continuing dependence for advanced studies on Freetown. Thus, although both territories owed their initial educational development to missionary initiatives, financial support and encouragement from the colonial administration differed considerably.

A fundamental difference between the two territories arose from the less determined commitment of the British government to a comprehensive strategy of colonial develop-

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1. On the Gambia's fluctuating role either annexed to Sierra Leone, as a part of the 'Colony of West African settlements', or as a separate colony, see Bisset Archer, F., The Gambia Colony and Protectorate, An Official Handbook (1905), St. Bride's Press, London, n.d., re-ed. 1967; Gray, J.M., A History of the Gambia, C.U.P., London, 1940, re-ed. 1966.

ment within which education played a vital role. The development of education in the Gambia was characterised by the laissez-faire attitudes of the government, who allowed the missionary societies to open schools during the nineteenth century, but offered little financial assistance. Quaker missionaries visited the Gambia in 1821 and 1823, but it was left to the Wesleyan mission to consolidate Hannah Kilham's initiative[1] in opening schools in Banjul and Bakau, through maintaining more permanent representation. Poor health and insufficient funds severely hampered the subsequent efforts of Wesleyan, Anglican and Catholic missionaries, with the absence of official impetus and direction preventing the development of any comprehensive education policy for the territory.

Education development in Senegal contrasts sharply with the Gambia in the more direct control that the Government consistently exercised, following the formal ending in 1815 of the British occupation of St. Louis and Gorée. It is significant that it was on 'local' initiative that members of the Wesleyan Missionary society were invited to extend their activities to the Gambia by Governor Sir Charles MacCarthy in 1823[2]; whereas all teachers posted to Senegal, whether in a professional or religious capacity, were at that time responsible to the Ministère de la Marine chargé des Colonies, in Paris. The same ministry employed teachers

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1. See Gray, op.cit.,p.312; Greenwood, O.,'Hannah Kilham's Plan' in The Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion, Vol.4, No.1, June 1962, p.17.

2. Education Department Report 1955-1957, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1958,p.1; Prickett,B.,Island Base (a history of the Methodist Church in the Gambia 1821-1969), published by the Methodist Church, the Gambia, n.d., p.13.

like Jean Dard, and his successors at l'Ecole Mutuelle de St. Louis, from 1816 onwards, as well as the Soeurs de Saint-Joseph de Cluny and Notre Dame de l'Immaculée Conception de Castres, and the Frères Ploermel, as fonctionnaires publics (Bouche, 1975:3). The Frères Ploermel made a particularly significant contribution to elementary and secondary education in A.O.F. from 1841 to 1903, when the secularisation of education ended the joint 'civilising' mission of the Government and the Religious Orders in French territories overseas.

At the same time as the French government increased its control over educational development by withdrawing its support from the Catholic missions in Senegal, the British government was beginning to become more involved in the educational activities of the Voluntary Agencies. Education Ordinances passed in 1882, 1886 and 1903[1] set up a Board of Education, and established a system of modest grants-in-aid for the denominational schools. The infrastructure formalising this partnership emerged slowly, with the Government exercising "nebulous control"[2] through the Board of Education. The inspection of schools and liaison with the Missions was delegated to the Police Magistrate from 1913 until the creation of an Education Department in 1930, but this

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1. See 'The Education Ordinance 1882' enacted by the Administrator (V.S. Gouldsbury) and the Legislative Council, 6 July 1882 (No.2-1882); 'The Education Amendment Ordinance 1886' enacted by the Acting Administrator (G.T. Carter) and the Legislative Council, 23 July 1886 (No.4 - 1886); 'The Education Ordinance 1903' enacted by the Governor (Sir George Denton) with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council, 14 July 1903 (No.14-1903), Government Printer, Bathurst.

2. Jones, S.H.M., Educational Policy, Legislation and Administration, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1970, p.1.

unsatisfactory lack of effective government involvement[1] was only rectified by the appointment of a full-time, specialist Education Officer in 1937[2]. Complete responsibility for elementary education was not taken until the conclusion of a 'Local Agreement' with the Voluntary Agencies in 1945 in which the Government undertook to cover all recurrent expenditure, while the missions continued to be involved in the organisation of their schools through the management committees.[3]

Educational development in Senegal and the Gambia thus presented a contrasting relationship between the commitment of the government and the religious orders/ missionary societies. The emergence of the independent role of the French government in Senegal, as opposed to the joint partnership existing between the British government and the Voluntary Agencies in the Gambia, led to the creation of secular, in place of denominational, schools.

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1. The urgent need for an Education Department and a full-time Education Officer had been identified in a resolution passed by the third session of the 'National Committee of British West Africa' (a regional development from the wider Pan-African movement) meeting at Bathurst in 1926 (See Langley, J.A., Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa 1900-1945, OUP, London, 1973, p.47).

2. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1937, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1938, p.4; Development and Welfare in the Gambia, Government Printer, Bathurst, June 1943, Ch.VI, p.1.

3. See Sessional Paper No.4/45, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1945 (Statement on the discussions held in Bathurst under the chairmanship of the Director of Education, between Mr. Cox, Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State, and the Representatives of the Christian Churches); 'The Education Ordinance 1946', Gambia Colony, 16 December 1946 (No.16-1946), Government Printer, Bathurst, especially pp.11-14.

Bryant Mumford (n.d.:69) contrasts the "humanitarian"[1] outlook of French educational strategy with the greater opportunity for "Christian" influence that he identifies in British territories. The "benevolent tolerance" (Awoniyi, 1976:35) of the British authorities towards missionary activity in educational development accounts not only for the absence of any organised, systematic approach, but also for the opportunity to utilise local lingue franche in elementary schools, as a logical extension of their role in the evangelising effort.

Both colonial governments modified the initial Christian orientation of their educational system in order to extend their political influence. It is therefore significant that the first school opened by the British authorities (1903)[2] was designed to placate local Muslim leaders. This 'Mohammedan School' in Banjul developed to encompass the primary school programme up to Standard 7, but its combination of primary English and Quranic education inevitably made it more exclusively sectarian than the Wesleyan/Methodist, Catholic and Anglican schools. The older elementary schools continued to attract children from Muslim as well as Christian backgrounds, so that, by 1950, T.H. Baldwin from the Colonial office could counter

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1. This paternalistic, humanitarian approach, moderating the authority of the French colonial administrator, is described succinctly by Robert Delavignette, Service Africain, Gallimard, 1946, pp.30,31: "Et les indigenes ... attendent que l'administrateur les oriente et les mette en marche vers ce monde nouveau où l'Afrique court en auto, pique les enfants contre la variole et les fait parler français. Problème humain dont l'administrateur ne se tire pas avec des déclarations humanitaires ou autoritaires, mais en appliquant avec une justesse d'humaniste l'accent de l'autorité.." (Service Africain was a re-edition of his earlier work, Les Vrais Chefs de l'Empire (1940), based on his personal experience of the colonial service, on which he lectured as Directeur de l'Ecole nationale de la France d'Outre-mer in 1939).

the accusation that "the Christian churches use education simply and solely as a bait to catch souls" by citing the climate of religious tolerance in Local Agreement schools.[1] On the one hand, low enrolment rates in the Protectorate have persistently been attributed to the link between religion and education that is said to have deterred many Muslims from sending their children to mission schools.[2] On the other hand, despite the incorporation of principles of freedom of conscience and voluntary religious instruction into Education Ordinances, relating to government assisted schools from 1882 onwards,[3] it is uncertain how far enrolment was adversely affected, in comparison to the secular system that developed in Senegal after 1903. In any case, it cannot be denied that strict Muslim families in both territories may simply have preferred to concentrate on their own particularly doctrinaire educational system.

1.3. Comparative Interpretations of the colonial cultural experience.

1.3.1. 'Assimilation' and/or 'Adaptation'?

Considerable controversy has arisen over the

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1. Baldwin, T.H., Report of a Commission appointed to make recommendations on the aims, scope, contents and methods of Education in the Gambia, Sessional Paper No.7/51, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1951, pp.3,4.
2. cf. Turbett, I.J., Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools for the year 1924, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1925, p.24 and Education Policy 1976-1986, Sessional Paper No.5/1976, Government Printer, Banjul,p.2, paragraph 2.2.2.
3. 'The Education Ordinance 1882' enacted by the Administrator (V.S. Gouldsbury and the Legislative Council, 6 July 1882 (No.2-1882), p.3, paragraph VI.

contrastive nature of the acculturative orientation in colonial educational policies.[1] The colonial cultural impact is liable to misrepresentation when used for comparative purposes, particularly as the intentions behind French and British educational strategies have been confused by discrepancies between official statements and their practical realisation. For example, the antithesis between assimilationist and adaptive cultural strategies (characterising French and British colonial missions, respectively) can give a misleading impression of consistently different outlooks and objectives. The French may indeed have emphasized the importance of intellectual training in aiming to create 'an élite of Black Frenchmen'; whereas the British concentration on 'character formation' (which became more

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1. The controversy often centres on the extreme antithesis between assimilative and adjustive policies drawn by Bryant Mumford and Orde Brown after a tour to French West Africa and Algiers in 1935 (See Africans Learn to be French, Evans, London, n.d., 174p.). Recent scholarship has tended to modify this contrast in order to show how both colonial missions embodied such connotations at various points in their development (See Bolibaugh, J.B., French Educational Strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa: their intent, derivation and development, Comparative Research Project No. 1032, Stanford, California, 1964; Clignet,R. & Foster,P., 'French and British Colonial Education in Africa', Comparative Education Review, Vol.8,No.2,October 1964,pp. 191-198; 'Convergence and Divergence in Educational Development in Ghana and the Ivory Coast' in Foster,P. & Zolberg, A.R.(Eds.), Ghana and the Ivory Coast, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1971, pp.285-291; Bouche,D., 'Autrefois, notre pays s'appelait la Gaule...' (Remarques sur l'adaptation de l'enseignement au Senegal de 1817 a 1960). Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, Vol.VIII, No.29, 1968, pp.110-122; Gifford,P. & Weiskel, T., 'African Education in a Colonial Context: French and British Styles' in Gifford, P. & Louis,W.R. (Eds.), France and Britain in Africa: Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1971, pp.663-711; Asiwaju, A.I., 'Formal Education in Western Yorubaland, 1889-1960: A Comparison of the French and British Colonial Systems', Comparative Education Review, Vol.19,No.3, October 1975, pp. 434-450; Western Yorubaland under European Rule 1889-1945 Longman, London, 1976).

pronounced after the Phelps Stokes Commissions of 1920/21 and 1924) tends to be cited as evidence of a more conscious effort to relate the educational system to the African context. However, such a contrast reveals an over-simplification of strategies which, as locally applied, had more in common than official pronouncements in the metropole implied. The vacillations between assimilationist and adaptive policies, noted by Clignet and Foster (1964) in both French and British colonies, emerge in relation to the curriculum content and vocational orientation of the educational policies applied in Senegal and the Gambia. Nevertheless, colonial language teaching policies present one aspect of these strategies in which the relationship between the foreign, metropolitan language, and local African languages, will be seen to have generally embodied either an assimilationist or an adaptive orientation.

1.3.2. 'Assimilation' as cultural imperialism.

A comparison of French and British strategies towards the educational development of their colonies is complicated by divergent methods and consequences, as well as by similar priorities and objectives. On the one hand, the French constantly re-iterate a cultural commitment, justifying political and economic interests. In the case of the British, on the other hand, the conspicuous lack of a definite educational policy demonstrates a pragmatic concern for commercial priorities. The French authorities drew attention to the ethnocentric nature of their cultural

mission, propounding theories, such as that of 'assimilation', in support of their 'mission civilisatrice'. In contrast, the British preference for 'laissez-faire' development perhaps served as the excuse for their nebulous and frugal involvement[1] in education in the Gambia.

Despite the wide range of possible interpretations of the term 'assimilation'[2], this study concentrates on its relevance to the colonial cultural legacy in Senegal and the Gambia. It will be specifically related to the 'civilising' connotations of colonial missions, whose assumptions of linguistic and cultural superiority have affected Senegalese and Gambian approaches to language and education.

The different patterns of educational development in Senegal and the Gambia each reflect the extent to which French and British strategies embodied a culturally imperialist outlook. Both powers held common assumptions that they represented a superior civilisation in Africa (Thompson, 1971: 778), although the British do not appear to have shared the same kind of 'ethnocentric idealism' (Bolibaugh, 1964: 71) with which the French justified their colonial enterprise. Both educational systems were strongly influenced in their initial orientation by the significant

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1. For example, Government grants to mission schools in 1903 came to £474, while their total expenditure on education in the Gambia in 1925 totalled £2,069 (Education Department Report 1955-1957, Government Printer, Banjul, 1958, p.1.).

2. See Lewis, M.D., 'One hundred million Frenchmen: The "Assimilation" theory in French colonial policy', Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol.4, No.3, 1963, pp.413-433.

contribution of teachers sent by the Roman Catholic orders and the Protestant denominational societies. Christian missionaries in both territories were convinced that conversion to the moral outlook and civilisation of the West could only be achieved by the complete abandonment of traditional beliefs and customs. In Senegal, Church and state interests combined to stress the moral and cultural aspects of this 'assimilatory' process, until the eclipse of the former influence by the anti-clerical reaction of the Third Republic from 1903 onwards. In the Gambia, on the other hand, the missionary monopoly of elementary education in the nineteenth century ensured a greater evangelical emphasis on Bible study and religious instruction, which persisted in the partnership that gradually developed between the Missions and the colonial authorities, culminating in the 'Cox Agreement' of 1945[1]. The denigration of African culture was an inevitable consequence of educational programmes that were taught by lay teachers and priests, convinced of their moral and cultural superiority[2]; but it was also affected in varying degrees by different colonial attitudes towards the choice of language teaching medium.

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1. Through this agreement, establishing 'Local Agreement Schools' (under denominational management committees), the Colonial Government assumed full responsibility for primary education in Banjul (See p. 7).

2. For example, see Findlay & Holdsworth (1921: 146).

1.3.3. 'Assimilation' through an academic education.

Cultural assimilation can be accentuated also by an educational system in which the most advanced sector is oriented towards a Western 'academic' model. In so far as 'assimilation' implies integrating part of the colonial population into the intellectual tradition of the metropole, through a similar educational process, the term could be applied to British strategy at secondary level, however limited its provision may have been in the Gambia. The voluntary agencies have been unfairly criticized[1] for failing to introduce a more practical bias into the school curriculum (Jones, 1970:2); but this followed, as in Senegal, "the popular demand for an academic education."[2] Such preferences, which have been attributed to aspirations for clerical employment[3], emerged throughout British West Africa from the development of the educational system to meet the primary needs of the government and trading companies for office personnel.[4] The same priority in Afrique Occidentale

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1. The voluntary agencies cannot be entirely to blame when attempts, such as the Roman Catholic Mission's Agricultural School, Abuko, 1890-1917, and the Wesleyan Methodist Mission's Technical School, Banjul, 1900-1921, were thwarted by lack of enrolment.

2. Report on Development and Welfare in the Gambia, Government Printer, Banjul, 1943, Chapter VI: Education, p.2.

3. Idem, p.2; Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education, Gambia, for the year 1929, Government Printer, Banjul, 1930, p.1.

4. See 'Report of the West Africa Study Group' in African Education (a study of educational policy and practice in British Tropical Africa), Oxford University Press, London, 1953, p.16. The Gambia was part of the study.

Francaise (A.O.F.) led to the development of a secondary level, similar in content and format to that of the metropole, which eventually created aspirations for greater professional, social and political mobility through further educational opportunities. This necessitated exposure to Western intellectual traditions on a larger scale than the initial Christian 'civilising' objectives of early missionary efforts. In this acculturative respect, the expansion of higher education in Senegal and the Gambia can be considered as being potentially assimilationist in consequence, although British educational policies contrast with the French in their conspicuous lack of elaborate socio-cultural theories as justification for their colonial activities. Conflicting interpretations of French policy arise from the inconsistencies between official rhetoric about the objectives of French educational strategy and its implementation in overseas territories. Former administrators in French West Africa, such as Robert Delavignette (1946: 30) and Hubert Deschamps (1971:546), have emphasised the significance of local initiatives in the Federation, in contrast to the rigid application of grandiose doctrinaire policies evolved in the metropole. The same opinion is held by Denise Bouche (1975), who traces the development of education in A.O.F. from 1817 to 1920 to illustrate her thesis that "l'enseignement français fut une adaptation continue à la situation coloniale." Gifford and Weiskel (1971:669) also interpret French colonial educational effort "not as a process of institutional transfer, but rather as a patterned series of decisions designed on the spot in response to the exigencies of

colonial rule". French policy was thus similar to the British effort in the Gambia in its dependence on local initiatives by colonial representatives. The metropolitan system of education was not reproduced in its entirety in either territory without modification. The limited provision of primary schools, with the slowness of their extension to secondary level[1], belies the impression that the implementation of a large-scale 'civilising' mission, with its full acculturative implications, was the main priority of the colonial authorities.

Alongside modifications to the metropolitan educational system in its transfer to the colonial context, the 'adaptive' orientation of curriculum content in French (as well as British territories) also undermines the stereotyped assimilationist/adaptive antithesis between different colonial strategies. Gifford and Weiskel (1971) relate this adaptive aspect of French colonial educational development to the 1903-1945 period, in which theories of association between the colonial and subject people became popular at the expense of earlier rhetoric about assimilation.[2] Denise Bouche (1968)[3] contributes to the debate by citing

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1. During the nineteenth century, secondary education consisted essentially of a college (1843-1849), and then the school organised by the Frères de Ploërmel (1884-1903) in St. Louis (See Bouche, 1975: Ch.IV, pp.183-214.)

2. On the debate in French colonial theory between 'Assimilation' and 'Association', see Delavignette (1946: pp.86-90); Betts (1961); Crowder (1962: pp.18-19); Wesley Johnson (1971: pp.74-78).

3. Bouche, D., 'Autrefois, notre pays s'appelait la Gaule...' (Remarques sur l'adaptation de l'enseignement au Sénegal de 1817 à 1960), Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, Vol. VIII, No.29, 1968.

the publication of new text books with a more African orientation during the same period. She quotes such examples in order to substantiate complaints by French officials, speaking at the conference on 'L'Adaptation de l'Enseignement dans les Colonies' (held in connection with l'Exposition Coloniale Internationale, Paris, 1931).[1] They considered that the phrase "Nos ancêtres, les Gaulois" had been adopted as the symbol of a "politique d'assimilation" through mistaken assumptions about its wide usage as the preface to history lessons in the colonies. André Davesne (1942: 262) later re-iterated his condemnation of such "reportes facetieux", but he admitted that the myth represented "un état d'esprit qui n'a pas entièrement disparu". For example, adaptation to curriculum content did not mitigate against a continuing paternalistic bias in the interpretation of African history.[2] The ambiguity of the term 'adaptation', as Professor Gourou pointed out in his Rapport Général concluding the 1931 conference, depended on which interests determined its application.[3] During the colonial period between the wars, adaptation of the curriculum represented a conscious tendency away

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1. See l'Adaptation de l'Enseignement dans les Colonies, Rapport et Compte-Rendu du Congrès intercolonial de l'Enseignement dans les colonies et les pays d'outre-mer, Didier, Paris, 1932.

2. See, for example, Moumouni, A., L'Education en Afrique, Maspero, Paris (1964:57).

3. Op.cit. (1932:308). Professor Gourou differentiated between three interpretations of the term 'adaptation'. It could refer to conceptions of the indigenous population of its meaning in their educational context; the adaptation of the system to the educational needs of the population, as defined by the colonial authorities; or the adaptation of the system in the colonial interest.

from an educational system with an exclusively metropolitan bias, but decisions about what such modifications entailed were inevitably made from a European viewpoint.

The development of political theories of association, with consequent concern for teaching material bearing more relevance to the colonial situation, did not prevent the retention of certain assimilationist aspects (Bolibaugh, 1964: 73; Crowder, 1964: 203).[1] French and British educational strategies continued to give priority to the training of the administrative and clerical personnel needed for the socio-economic development of their territories, but the expansion of education into the interior called for a more practical, vocational training than that embodied by the academic, literary model. Denise Bouche's thesis (1975) illustrates the incompatibility of the dual objectives of French educational policy, since, after concentrating on the formation of an élite for administrative and commercial purposes, the wider aim of 'civilising' the masses proved impossible to realise through the same methods and curriculum.

The evolution of a 'two-track' educational system to provide both academic and practical training introduced a sharp distinction between the aspirations of the emergent élite (referred to by the colonial officials as "la population assimilée"), and the needs of the mass population

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1. cf. Delavignette (1946:88): "Assimilation ou Association? - la question ne se pose pas comme un choix définitif. Assimilation et Association, les deux formules sont souvent combinées; et leur dosage varie avec la dexterité de l'opérateur et la température des événements...."

beyond the Four Communes.[1] During the latter part of the nineteenth century, the elite began to demand the political rights which the assimilationist orientation of their education logically implied, but which had not been fully anticipated by the French authorities (Crowder, 1962: 18). This vociferous sector of the population later attacked Georges Hardy's attempts during his service as Inspecteur-Général de l'Enseignement en A.O.F. (1912-1919) to introduce more selective, vocationally oriented educational programmes (Bouche, 1975: pp.859-862), because they saw these as a potential threat to the more academic courses that had equipped them to gain privileged political status.[2]

The dichotomy in French colonial education between academic courses and more practical training was to continue throughout the colonial epoch until the 'Brazzaville' conference (1944) prepared the way for the constitution embodying l'Union Française between the government and its overseas territories. One paradoxical result of this 'integrationist' political agreement[3] was the rejection of 'adaptive' educational programmes in favour of wider

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1. The Four Communes de pleine exercice (St. Louis, Gorée, Dakar and Rufisque) had unique political status in A.O.F. as French municipalities.

2. i.e. As originaires of the Four Communes, they enjoyed certain rights as citizens that were denied to the sujets of the interior. On these political developments, see Crowder, M., Senegal (A study of French Assimilation policy), Oxford University Press, London, 1962; Wesley Johnson,G., The Emergence of Black Politics in Senegal (The struggle for power in the Four Communes, 1900-1920), Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1971.

3. See Crowder, M., (1962, pp.46, 47).

educational opportunities,[1] arising from a more assimilatory educational system. Political objectives were thus linked to demands for greater parity in curriculum content, examinations and diplomas between colonial and metropolitan educational systems (Bouche, 1968: 121; Gifford and Weiskel, 1971: 694). Crowder (1962: 19) sees this identification between political and educational opportunity as an inevitable part of a movement that had been "long directed to obtaining from the French those rights (of fundamental equality) which in principle an assimilationist policy offered them." Demands for the same educational opportunities as the metropole were accentuated in the subsequent struggle for political independence.

The reaction against any modification to the metropolitan educational system arose from the political and racially offensive connotations of an "enseignement au rabais", with diplomas "taillés sur mesure" for the African population.[2] Perhaps this reaction resulted from the sharp antithesis between dominating and dominated forces in colonial strategy, but, in the linguistic domain, it necessitated a re-affirmation of a language and education policy in which only the use of

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1. It called for greater efforts at mass education, while continuing "une selection sure et rapide des élites". See La Conférence Africaine Française, Brazzaville, 30 janvier- 8 février, 1944, Ministère des Colonies, Paris, 1945, p.43. The outcome of this conference has been described by Sar, Fofana and Barry (1956:75) as "un vent de rationalisation, de démocratisation et de developpement de l'enseignement en Afrique Noire". See also Dadié, B., 'Misère de l'Enseignement en A.O.F.' Présence Africaine, No.11, 1956, pp.63-69.

2. Moumouni, A. (1964:57). On this repugnance arising from fears that a 'second rate' educational system might develop, see also Dadié (1956); Sar, Fofana & Barry (1956).

French was sanctioned.[1]

1.3.4. 'Assimilation' through foreign language learning.

The role of the metropolitan language as the exclusive medium for implementing French educational strategies reveals a more assimilationist orientation to colonial development in A.O.F. than in British West African territories. The monopoly that the French language commanded in the educational system from the 1830s onwards contrasted with the British tendency to use local languages as media of instruction in some primary schools. French policy can be attributed to the extreme ethnocentric cultural outlook that characterised their colonial mission.

Such attitudes led to confident expectations about the intellectual and psychological identification with metropolitan French aspirations and interests that the use of this language by subject peoples would foster. Deschamps (1971:552) explains that "it was not only the convenience for those in charge which determined this choice, but especially the idea that by speaking French the native would end by thinking in French and feeling French.."[2] Grandiose

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1. The Brazzaville conference stated categorically (op.cit., p.44: Enseignement, Recommendation No.4): "L'enseignement doit être donné en langue française, l'emploi pédagogique des dialectes locaux parlés étant absolument interdit, aussi bien dans les écoles privées que dans les écoles publiques."

2. Hubert Deschamps (former colonial governor 1938-1950), speaking in his capacity as professor of Modern African history, University of Paris, at the conference on France and Britain in Africa: Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule, University of Yale, March 1968. His paper 'French colonial policy in Tropical Africa between the two World Wars' was published among the collected papers, edited by Gifford, P. & Louis, W.R., Yale University Press, New Haven & London. 1971. pp.543-569.

claims were made about the 'morally uplifting' consequences of being able to speak and think like a Frenchman "Parler français, c'est avoir cette langue dans le sang ... c'est penser en français, et penser en français, qu'on me permette de le dire avec orgueil, c'est d'être quelque chose de plus qu'un homme ordinaire, c'est s'associer à la noblesse de la destinée de notre pays..."[1] Fluency in this language would elevate the speaker to the point where "vous aurez les mêmes idées, vous participerez aux mêmes luttes, vous vivrez les mêmes principes..." Although such claims about the acculturative consequences of speaking French were wildly exaggerated during the imperialist fervour of the latter part of the nineteenth century, they can be attributed to the extreme ethnocentric conception of the inextricable nature of the link between a language and the culture from which it emanates. The French language was believed to be potentially acculturative or assimilationist precisely because it provided the key to the universal culture, inherited from Greco-Roman intellectual traditions, of which France was the self-appointed champion. The French authorities considered that, in their role embodying this classical heritage at the apex of Western civilisation, they were morally bound to 'enlighten' the colonial population with their language and culture. On the other hand, this 'duty' can also be seen as the consequence of assumptions of the social, cultural and moral superiority that is

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1. ARS, JP: Discours du Gouverneur Camille Guy à la distribution des prix de l'Ecole des Fils de Chefs, le 10 juillet 1902.

intrinsic to the concept of a 'civilising mission'. In this respect, the persistent emphasis by the colonial government on the particular value and special attributes of their language have perpetuated myths about a hierarchy of languages in which the 'inferiority' of African languages is implicit.

The metropolitan language inevitably serves as an integral part of the colonisation process, but the particular glorification of the French language, as the embodiment of Western civilisation, resulted in more overt emphasis on its role in A.O.F. as the agent of socio-cultural change, than is evident in the case of English in West Africa. Interpretations of the assimilationist nature of French colonial language policies can be misleading in that they tend to over-emphasize one influential factor at the expense of others. In consequence, opinions on the orientation of government policy vary according to whether priority is given to cultural, pedagogical or political objectives. However, colonial cultural strategy appears to have been influenced by the inter-relationship of all these three factors in the formulation of its language policy.

Cultural interpretations of French language policy can easily subscribe to the same misconception about the automatic link between language fluency and acculturation that the French authorities nurtured as part of their educational enterprise. The observation by Bryant Mumford and Orde Brown (n.d.: 47)[1] that the pupils

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1. W.B. Bryant Mumford (Head of the Colonial Department, University of London Institute of Education) toured seven federated colonies of French West Africa in 1935, and then wrote a review of French colonial educational activities, in consultation with Major G. St. Orde Brown of the

of Ecole William Ponty were "French in all but the colour of their skin" is frequently cited as evidence of the assimilatory consequences of their education.[1] These conclusions, however, appear to have been based only on superficial impressions of the knowledge of the French language and literature of those interviewed. They omit to specify whether they had asked questions, relating to the pupils' cultural background, which would have indicated how far this had been modified by contact with French civilisation. On the other hand, Bryant Mumford and Orde Brown's interpretation of French policy as being assimilationist in intention as well as consequence, during the period between the wars, have been criticised by Gifford and Weiskel (1971) in their concern to emphasize the government's over-riding political objective. Gifford and Weiskel (1971: 675) claim that French was used as the medium of instruction "primarily for practical reasons", since no other language could achieve the same "universality of communication" throughout their territories. This interpretation in turn underestimates the 'idealised' attitude of the French towards their language and culture, which must be considered as a significant factor influencing the option for an exclusive teaching medium.

The examination of the assimilationist orientation of colonial policy from a pedagogic viewpoint has also been limited. Interpretations of French intentions have been linked to the pedagogical context by Makouta Mboukou (1973:20), who assumes that French strategy could not have been deliberately assimilationist when such ineffective

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1. e.g. Bouche (1968:119); Deschamps (1971:565).

teaching methods were employed. He considers that, if it had had this orientation, "la langue française aurait été enseignée par des méthodes efficaces." On the contrary, this contention seems unfounded, since it would not have been immediately apparent to early administrators that their aim of diffusing the French language among the mass population would prove so difficult to realise.[1]

Pedagogical factors can in retrospect be misconceived as having been more significant than they actually were at the time of policy formulation. The colonial authorities cannot be said to have resorted to the easier alternative of using French merely because they were confronted by the under-developed state of local languages for teaching purposes (Bouche, 1975:pp.175,176). This purely practical explanation, like Gifford and Weiskel's emphasis on political considerations, ignores the significance of the French language in providing access to a new cultural order. Clignet and Foster (1964:194)[2] similarly exaggerate the importance of pedagogical factors in determining the exclusive choice of French, in support of which they cite only Georges Hardy[3] to illustrate "the many French officials" who "urged the use of the metropolitan

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1. Bouche (1975:888) refers to the influence of l'Ecole Française in French West Africa as "faible, sinon nulle", since by 1920 barely 1% of those eligible were enrolled in school.

2. They re-iterate this point in The Fortunate Few (1966: 8, fn.3).

3. Hardy was Inspecteur de l'Enseignement en A.O.F., see p.19.

language, not out of principle, but out of recognition of the practical difficulties entailed in using numerous vernaculars in polylingual territories." Contrary to their claim, Hardy stands out for his awareness of the difficulties of learning through the medium of a foreign language,[1] whereas few other officials seriously questioned the political and cultural validity of concentrating solely on acquiring fluency in the French language. It would therefore be misleading to conclude from Clignet and Foster (1964) and Makouta Mboukou (1973) that the French authorities ever seriously considered that teaching through a local medium would be a viable alternative to

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1. See Hardy, G., 'L'Enseignement au Sénégal de 1817 à 1854', Bulletin du Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'A.O.F., 1921, p.156. He referred to the "psittacisme" and "sterilité" of education "donné dans une langue inconnue des enfants", writing from the pedagogical viewpoint that the intermediary stage "entre l'usage de la langue indigène et l'enseignement grammatical de la langue française" must be bridged. He was also atypical in his plea (1917; 1921) that "le français usuel" should become the teaching medium, rather than "le français littéraire". His practical, functional approach to the teaching of French as a second language has been described in Une Conquête Morale (l'enseignement en A.O.F.), Armand Colin, Paris, 1917, p.189: "l'apprentissage de la langue sera considéré, non point comme fin en soi, mais comme un simple moyen d'acquérir des connaissances pratiques". This led him to the 'heretical' position (1917: 195) that "... nous n'accordons à la langue française aucun monopole; quand l'occasion s'en présente, quand il paraît qu'entre les indigènes et nous un point de contact peut s'établir autrement que par la langue française (my italics), nous n'hésitons pas à sacrifier ses privilèges..."
Hardy also gave a lucid account of the reasons for and against teaching through the medium of African languages in order to make the point that language choice is a complex issue on which an absolute stand cannot be taken (See Hardy, G., 'L'emploi des langues indigènes dans l'enseignement', paper presented to the Congrès de l'Institut International des Langues et des Civilisations africaines, Paris, 16-19 October, 1931, published by the Institute, Paris, 1933, pp.168-177).

the exclusive use of the metropolitan language. Jean Bard's early attempt to prove the contrary,[1] in the face of mounting scepticism, served to re-inforce official beliefs that their political and cultural mission could only be promoted through the medium of the French language.

The use of French as a unifying, political instrument can perhaps be seen as a more realistic objective than the deeper cultural conversion that assimilation implied. With a vision of the international role of the French language that the concept of la Francophonie has come to embody,[2] Monsieur le Capitaine Aubert (Directeur des Affaires Politiques) had prophesied in 1892 that "le jour n'est peut-être pas éloigné où depuis le littoral de la Méditerranée jusqu'au golfe de Guinée, un voyageur pourra, en tout lieu, entrer en relation avec les principaux habitants des pays parcourus au moyen de la langue française. Ce jour-là, notre oeuvre sera devenue indestructible comme le fut celle des Romains dans l'Espagne et la Gaule antiques."[3] He had referred earlier in this speech to Faidherbe's interest in establishing the Ecole des Otages, since the Governor had considered that a nucleus of chiefs, literate in French,

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1. See pp.46-51.

2. See Viatte, A., La Francophonie, Larousse, Paris, 1969; see also opening speech by Monsieur Hamani Diori (then President of the Republic of Niger) at the first meeting of countries having French as an official language, Niamey, 1969, reported in Francophonie 1971, Association de Solidarité Francophone, No.2, December, 1971.

3. AN, JF, Speech by Monsieur le Capitaine Aubert at the re-opening of the Ecole des Otages, 31 March 1892.

would facilitate colonial rule in the area. The assumption that French territorial influence would be consolidated by this linguistic instrument was upheld by subsequent governors, with William Ponty, for example, asserting to the Governing Council of A.O.F. in 1910: "La condition primordiale du succès de notre domination, de sa durée, réside dans l'usage plus au moins rapide de notre langue par les indigènes. Notre administration, comme notre justice, risqueront de rester méconnues jusque dans leurs plus louables intentions tant que l'emploi de l'interprète restera à leur base."[1] Misunderstandings in relations between the colonial government and local leaders (which the interpreter, or "'répond-bouche' du commandant", could exploit in his own interest)[2] would thus be avoided. The exclusive political role of French was strengthened further by Governor Ponty in his decision to facilitate the work of French officials by demanding that all administrative correspondence and judgements be written in French.[3] This directive underlined the close connection between language and politics, since it was intended to obviate the preference of Muslim chiefs for texts written

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1. ARS, Journal Officiel de l'A.O.F., 1910,p.405: Opening speech by William Ponty at the Governing Council session, 20 June 1910.

2. As illustrated by Bâ, Amadou Hampaté, L'Etrange Destin de Wangrin, Union Générale d'Editions, 1973.

3. ARS, Journal Officiel de l'A.O.F., 1911, p.286: Circulaire du Gouverneur - General William Ponty, No.29 c, 8 May, 1911.

in Arabic.

The particular ethnocentric attitude of the French towards their language resulted in cultural and political objectives being complementary, since the logical consequence of linguistic and cultural assimilation was assumed to be the extension of the colonising power's political influence. The 'universal'aspect of French was therefore stressed, with both political and cultural objectives depending on teaching through this sole medium. However much the pedagogical reasons for teaching exclusively in French may have been claimed to have been taken into account, political and cultural interests consistently had priority. For example, André Davesne included an appendix to his 'Rapport sur l'Afrique Occidentale Française' (1931)[1] which purported to consider both sides of the issue of language teaching media, but his concluding remarks, concerning the need to safeguard the "rayonnement" of the French language in the world, detracted from its objectivity. He admitted his fears that the decline in the international prestige of the French language seemed threatened by "une autre" (sic), so that "quel que soit la sort que l'avenir réserve à nos colonies, il est bon que dans cette Afrique noire la lange française soit assez solidement implantée pour pouvoir résister aux événements."[2] The teaching of the French language, with its "action civilisatrice", thus

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1. This report was presented to the conference on L'Adaptation de l'Enseignement dans les Colonies, Paris, 25-27 September, 1931, in his capacity as l'Inspecteur de l'Enseignement primaire en A.O.F. See op.cit., 1932, pp.100-106.

2. Ibid., p.106.

remained linked to the prestige and grandeur of France in the world.

It is not surprising that, in summarising the deliberations of this same Congrès Intercolonial de l'Enseignement dans les Colonies et les Pays d'Outre-mer (1931), Professor Gourou should have stated categorically that "le choix de cette langue est bien plutôt un fait de politique générale qu'un problème pédagogique. Les solutions varient selon les colonies et selon les puissances colonisatrices."[1] One justification that Davesne has re-iterated (1932; 1942) for the language teaching option, upheld by the French authorities in A.O.F., was its reflection of local preferences for French, rather than their own languages. He failed to see this paradox as an inevitable outcome of over a century of official emphasis on a particular language and culture in a context which he, himself, recognised as "conforme à l'évolution normale d'une civilisation qui se trouve en présence d'une civilisation supérieure."[2] It was this ethnocentric attitude of linguistic and cultural superiority that persistently characterised French policy throughout the colonial era.

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1. Gourou, 'Rapport General' in L'Adaptation de l'Enseignement dans les Colonies, Didier, Paris, 1932, p.309.

2. Ibid. (1932: 106).

1.3.5. 'Assimilation' into local government.

Contrastive approaches to language teaching can be illustrated by comparing two vocational schools for the education of chiefs' sons in Senegal and the Gambia. Both the French and the British governments considered that it would be politically expedient to use education as a means of influencing traditional leading families by training them for participation in the local administrative process. It was perhaps the over-riding political interest behind the establishment of these schools that influenced special provision (and modifications to language teaching strategies) for the teaching of the Qur'ān. The Ecole des Otages[1] in St. Louis and Armitage School in Georgetown included similar provision for teaching Arabic and the rudiments of Islamic law, in order to combat antipathies of leading Muslim families to Western education with a Christian bias.

In Senegal, sons of chiefs had had privileged status at l'Ecole Mutuelle de St. Louis from 1820 onwards, and later with the Frères Ploërmel, until Governor Faidherbe decided to establish a special school to accommodate larger numbers. Despite his concession to the religious affinities of these leading families, Faidherbe showed in his creation of the school, and in his subsequent attempts to impose greater control over Quranic teaching[2], that his main

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1. Bouche (1975:330) has pointed out that 'otages' did not carry the pejorative connotation in Africa that it tends to embody in the West.

2. See Bouche (1974:222) and (1975:pp.286,290).

objective was to extend French influence over the area pacified by his military campaigns.[1] He was confident about the significant role of the French language in this strategy: "Il faut avoir des enfants du Oualo, du Cayor, du Fouta, de tous les états du Fleuve, des Maures mêmes, après la paix. Il faut leur apprendre notre langue pour la commodité de nos relations avec leurs pays. Il faut les élever de manière qu'ils soient bons à quelque chose, une fois retournés chez eux, qu'ils nous respectent et qu'ils nous aiment..."[2] His conception of the political role of the school, and the intrinsic function of the metropolitan language for extending French influence, was revived when the school was re-opened in 1892, after being closed for twenty years. The arrêté of 27 May, 1893, consequently noted that "par suite de la pacification de plus en plus complète des pays du Bas Sénégal, des progrès de plus en plus réels des chefs indigènes dans la voie de la civilisation, cette école est appelée à prendre une extension sans cesse grandissante..."[3]

In the Gambia, similar political (and economic) considerations resulted in a concentration at Armitage School

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1. On the immense expansion of French territorial influence arising from General Faidherbe's military campaigns in the Waalo, Cayor, Fouta and Sine (1854-1865), see Cultru, P., Histoire du Senegal du XVe siecle a 1870, Larose, Paris, 1910,p.372; Villard, A., Histoire du Sénégal, Ars Africae, M. Viale, Dakar, 1943, ch.V; Hardy, G., Faidherbe, Editions de L'Encyclopédie de l'Empire, Paris, 1947,p.104.

2. ARS, 2B: Correspondance du Gouverneur au Ministre, le 18 janvier, 1856.

3. ARS, J7: Ecole des Fils de Chefs, 1892-1903.

on educating the sons of chiefs, rather than on the wider function of a Muslim boarding school. The question of making provision for the latter in the Protectorate, as a complement to the Mohammedan School in Banjul, had been contemplated initially.[1] However, the Government opted to limit enrolment to leading families "because it is felt that more can be done for the people by training the sons and relatives of chiefs, than by starting many small Government schools in various parts of the Protectorate."[2] This Government initiative at Georgetown in 1926 was a revival of the early attempt of the Wesleyan mission in the 1830s to educate the sons of chiefs on the same island.[3] After this project had been abandoned, the British (like the neighbouring authorities in Senegal) arranged for some of them to attend established schools in the capital.[4]

Despite their similar political objectives, the schools differed slightly in orientation. At Armitage School practical subjects, like agriculture and carpentry, were an important part of the time-table, in conscious reaction to "any spurious 'literary' education which may

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1. See Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools for the year 1924, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1925, p.24.

2. Re-iterated in the Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Education for the years 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936.

3. Moister (1871:187) refers to the existence of this school in 1835; see also Findlay & Holdsworth (1921:133) about intentions to open (or re-open?) such an establishment.

4. See Joof, Mam Biram, The Foundations of Education: The Gambia, University of Aberdeen M.Ed. thesis, 1971, pp. 121-128.

make them dissatisfied with their present ideals without giving them anything better."[1] The principal aim of the school was identified as character development. This was defined as training them "to become better Mandingos, Jollofs, Tukulors, as the case may be", but the Government's self-interest emerged in declaring that this entailed "self control, truthfulness, honesty and respect for their elders and those in authority over them..."[2] The time-table at the Ecole des Fils de Chefs et des Interprètes[3] in 1892 included "instruction morale", but seemed to put more emphasis on the study of the French language than on other subjects, by including a detailed breakdown of various language teaching exercises. However, a comparison between the curriculum content noted at the prize giving ceremony on 23 August, 1864[4], and the subjects listed by the head-master, R.J. Portes, in his report of 26 May, 1892[5], reveals a greater attempt to relate the programme to its vocational orientation at the re-opening of the school. For example, basic notions of theoretical and practical agriculture and accountancy were new elements on the time-table in 1892, in contrast to its earlier literary bias.

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1. 'Report on the Government Mohammedan School, Georgetown (the Armitage School) for the year 1928' in Report on the Elementary Schools for the year 1928. Government Printer, Bathurst, 1929, p.22.

2. Idem.

3. The name was officially changed from 'Ecole des Otages' in 1893. See ARS, J7, Ecole des Fils de Chefs 1893-1903, Arrete du 27 mai, 1893.

4. ARS, J2: Ecole des Otages de Saint Louis, 1847-1869.

5. ARS, J7: Rapport sue le fonctionnement du College des Fils de Chefs et des Interprètes, adressé à Monsieur le Directeur des Affaires Politiques par R.J. Portes, Saint

Apart from these particular emphases in curriculum orientation, the Ecole des Fils de Chefs et des Interpretes and Armitage School differed more fundamentally in choice of language as a medium of instruction. Fluency in French remained of primary importance, despite the re-organisation of the Ecole des Fils de Chefs in 1903[1] into three sections. The first two sections divided the training of interpreters from that of chiefs' sons, while the third section was aimed in vain at bringing the training of future Muslim judges (qadis) under Government control. The curriculum was modified according to each vocational objective.[2] Nevertheless, although limited provision was made for the interpreters to develop translation skills from their own languages and from Arabic into French, language study continued to be oriented towards consolidating the role of French as a language of wider communication. When Dr. Blyden visited the Ecole des Fils de Chefs et des Interpretes in 1902, his experience of a very different linguistic situation in Freetown prompted his comments on the absence of Pidgin and the fact that the students spoke their mother tongues among themselves,[3] even though this latter tendency was precisely what the French authorities were trying to discourage. Natural recourse to the home language or a local lingua franca had to be eradicated for

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1. See Bouche (1975:737).

2. Ibid.

3. Report of Dr. E.W. Blyden to the Colonial Secretary on his visit to Senegal, 16 April, 1902, Minute paper 1652/1902.

fear that it would undermine their command of French. R.J. Portes (in his capacity as Headmaster) therefore recommended drastic measures in order to combat "cette facheuse habitude" of chatting in Wolof as soon as his back was turned. He proposed sanctions such as "l'interdiction formelle de parler ouolof; l'exclusion de l'établissement de toute personne ne connaissant pas le français; la présence permanente de leurs maîtres au milieu d'eux.."[1] The constant difficulty of imposing the exclusive usage of French appears to have presented a major problem in educational establishments in Afrique Occidental Francaise throughout the colonial period.

The British Government was less intransigent about the use of African languages in Gambian schools. An integral part of the development of Armitage School in relation to local conditions was the use of Wolof and Mandinka as media of instruction as well as English. Although the boys began to study English as a subject on arrival, instruction began as far as possible in the mother tongue.[2] The Superintendent for Education, W.T. Hamlyn, wrote in 1930 that the objective of teaching Wolof and Mandinka, as well as English, was to make "all boys equally fluent in each"[3], although the inclusion of the two main lingue franche of the Gambia probably related

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1. ARS, J7, Portes, R.J., op.cit.

2. Allen, R.C., Education in the Gambia: Present organisation and possible future development, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1939, p.16.

3. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1930, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1931, Appendix XII, p.16.

to the potential role of some of the pupils in local government. W.T. Hamlyn explained in a later report that "in Armitage the vernacular is used, though at a later stage the boys learn to write in Jollof and in English, and these languages are also used as languages of instruction in the upper classes. In the few cases in which a boy does not know Mandingo when he comes to school at first, he is taught to write simple works in his own language, as, for example, Fula, and explanations are given to him in this language; but in about three months he usually knows enough Mandingo for school purposes, as it is the language which is chiefly spoken by the boys..."[1] The inclusion of a "Tukulor Arabic teacher" and a "Mandingo Arabic teacher" on the staff list for 1930[2] could imply that explanations of the Qur'ān were given in these languages.

1.3.6. Laissez-faire 'adaptation' and 'assimilation'.

Language teaching policy in the Gambia was consistently characterised by a more flexible approach to language usage in the school context, but, in practice, this depended on the individual missionary's success in mastering the main lingua franca of the locality. Although the Voluntary Agencies intended using Gambian languages as

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1. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1932, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1933, p.7.
2. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1931, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1932.

initial teaching media, this policy does not appear to have been applied very systematically or extensively. Efforts to develop local languages for literary work included Hannah Kilham's Ta-re wa-loof, Ta-re Boo Juk-a: First Lessons in Jaloof (1820) and African Lessons: Wolof and English in Three Parts (1823)[1]; Rev. Robert Maxwell MacBriar's Mandinka grammar, his translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew into Mandinka[2] and his preliminary work on Fula[3]; Robert Dixon's translation of three Gospels and some hymns into Wolof, his Wolof primer and catechism.[4] A continual history of ill health and a high mortality rate in the Wesleyan mission nevertheless thwarted their evangelising effort (Findlay and Holdsworth, 1921:138), as well as preventing the development of a comprehensive educational strategy through the medium of local languages. Difficulties over language choice and training constantly recurred as soon as each new missionary arrived in the Gambia, with

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1. Greenwood, O., 'Hannah Kilham's Plan', Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion, Vol.4, No.1, June 1962, p.14. Mrs. Kilham used two ex-sailors as informants in London, who had been freed from slavery. One was Wolof from Goree, while the other was a Gambian Mandinka who spoke Wolof. They accompanied her on her visit to the Gambia in 1823, but her plan to use them as teachers was not a success (See Greenwood, op.cit. and Biller, S. (Ed.), Memoir of Hannah Kilham, Darton and Harvey, 1837, p.170).

2. Moister (1869:123); Prickett (n.d.: 50).

3. MacBriar, R.M., Grammar of the Fulah Language, edited with additions by E. Norris, London, 1854.

4. Findlay and Holdsworth (1921:141); Prickett (n.d.:133).

Barbara Prickett writing in retrospect (n.d.:14) about the 1821-1969 period: "This question of learning a language in which they could speak to the local people has never been settled. Every generation of missionaries has had his own ideas about which language should be learnt, and very few have had the time, health and ability to learn any language thoroughly." Many missionaries consequently took up the easier option of using English, since the Liberated Africans,[1] who formed the sector of the population most susceptible to the evangelising and educational effort of the mission during the nineteenth century, insisted on church services and teaching being conducted in this language. Prickett's History of the Methodist Mission in the Gambia shows that the Creole element persistently undermined the extension of this church's influence among the indigenous inhabitants of the territory through their preference for the use of English rather than a local lingua franca. For example, the failure of the 'Fula' mission to MacCarthy Island[2] can be attributed to the tendency for the Wesleyan missionaries to concentrate on the relatively easier task of converting

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1. See p. 245.

2. The Fula mission, launched in 1835 with considerable financial assistance from Dr. Lindoe, a philanthropist from Southampton, was administered by the Wesleyan mission on MacCarthy Island. By 1846, despite some success among the Liberated African settlement on the island, it was considered to have failed in the original objective of converting the Fulbe (See Moister, 1869:125; Findlay & Holdsworth, 1921:129; Prickett, n.d.:75; Gray, 1940:362).

members of the local Liberated African settlement. One Methodist missionary enviously noted the advantage the Catholic mission gained through being able to transfer priests from their Senegalese mission who already spoke Wolof (Findlay and Holdsworth, 1921:138; Prickett, n.d.: 191). The greater impact that the Catholics made on the Wolof community in Banjul during the nineteenth century can in fact be attributed to their more definite policy of using a local language.[1]

Although the problem of language choice was frequently referred to in reports prepared by the Gambian Education Department after its inception in 1930, no comprehensive policy emerged. This omission is surprising when "a new spirit of interest in practical vernacular education" had led to initiatives such as the establishment of a school at Bakau, which in 1929 provided in-service training for five teachers intending to use local language teaching media in new Protectorate schools.[2] Governor Sir George Denham had similarly fostered the decisive development of Armitage school, with its emphasis on the initial use of local languages as media of instruction for its 'practical' curriculum. Official interest was short-lived, however. Projects like the Bakau experiment, which started so enthusiastically, collapsed when the Wesleyan/Methodist mission had to close its three new schools in 1932, because of difficulties in collecting fees and getting suitably trained teachers.[3]

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1. See p.179.
2. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1929, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1930, p.1.
3. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1937, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1938, p.5.

This brief official impetus to education in Gambian home languages reflected contemporary concern for relating the curriculum to the local environment, as well as for early teaching in a medium with which the child was already familiar. The Phelps Stokes commission had recommended that the "tribal language" should be used in the lower stages of elementary school, with an African lingua franca, where possible, at middle level, and "the language of the European nation in control" for the upper standards.[1] This fundamental linguistic emphasis in turn influenced the orientation of the British Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on Native Education, which was set up in 1924.[2] Nevertheless, despite growing international interest in more practical educational programmes, the management of education did not improve in order to realise such worthy objectives. The laissez-faire development of education continued to characterise British colonies and overseas territories, with educational strategies varying at a local level[3] in their interpretations of the official endorsement of using local languages for teaching purposes.

The choice of language teaching medium in Gambian schools did not follow any overall strategy or direction,

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1. Phelps-Stokes Commission on 'Education in Africa', Report prepared by Thomas Jesse Jones, Chairman of the Commission, Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York, 1922, p.26.

2. See Memorandum on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, H.M.S.O., cmd.2347, 1925; The Place of the Vernacular in Native Education, H.M.S.O., 1927.

3. See Spencer (1971:537); Bamgbose (1976:10).

since, although Wolof tended to be used in the lower classes of the Catholic and Mohammedan schools in Banjul,[1] the Wesleyan and Anglican schools in the capital concentrated on teaching in English. The few schools in the Protectorate adopted a local lingua franca for the early stages of elementary education,but problems, such as the shortage of literature in Gambian languages (which the first Director of Education, Ralph Allen, deplored in 1938)[2], have remained unsolved. Despite the revival of interest in the role of Mandinka for teaching purposes, generated by George O'Halloran's experiments in literacy at Genieri (1948)[3], the Government did not provide the necessary financial investment for its extension on a mass scale. T.H. Baldwin of the Colonial Office commented in 1951 that "it is immensely difficult to use English from the outset in a region where it is scarcely used or understood by the general population"[4], and called for an investigation into the language difficulties that characterised Bathurst primary schools. He wanted to

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1. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1930(1931), p.3, re-iterated in the Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1937, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1938, p.6.

2. Allen, Ralph, C., Education in the Gambia: Present Organisation and possible future development, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1939, chapter 3.

3. This literacy project arose in connection with the Medical Research Council's Nutritional Field Working party at Genieri. See Annual Reports of the Education Department for the years 1947, 1948 & 1949; Sessional Paper No.8/52, 1952, p.2; Oversea Education, Vol. XIX, No.2, January 1948, p.646: 'Mass education - Gambia'.

4. Baldwin, T.H., Report of a Commission appointed to make recommendations on the aims, scope, contents and methods of Education in the Gambia, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1951, Sessional paper No. 7/51, p.7, paragraph 22.

establish whether the lack of systematic teaching in the mother-tongue was affecting the generally low standard of English, but his specific recommendations for the implementation of an educational strategy, using local media of instruction as well as English, was subsequently thwarted by the British Government's failure to give sufficient priority to this "question of language".[1]

The problem of language choice appears to have been hampered by laissez-faire government attitudes that led to attention being drawn to some areas of difficulty, without a comprehensive solution being found or a definite policy adopted. W.T. Hamlyn had observed, in his capacity as Superintendent for Education in 1933, that "teaching children to read and write through the medium of English, rather than their own language" had "greatly handicapped progress."[2] The "defective" standard of English, noted by Baldwin in 1951[3], became a perennial problem which some officials believed to have been accentuated by the use of Pidgin. The influence of this lingua franca was considered to be more detrimental to the acquisition of the metropolitan language in Banjul than the adverse effect of allowing pupils to use their home languages, as feared on the other side of the border. For example, the Inspector of Schools

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1. Idem, p.38.
2. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1932, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1933, p.7.
3. Baldwin, op.cit., p.19, paragraph 60.

declared in 1923 that "All 'Pidgin English' should be eradicated entirely, for only too frequently the teacher himself uses these most obnoxious terms of expression in an endeavour to convey certain ideas to the minds of his class. It would be far better if he used the vernacular and much less harmful to the children..."[1] The threat of linguistic interference, that "the Pidgin English evil"[2] was presumed to embody, remained a constant irritant to colonial educational officials involved in the Gambia during the twentieth century.

Although the policy of using local languages may have been applied ineffectively and unsystematically to the Gambian context, it reflected the basic assumption that literacy in the metropolitan language could be facilitated by transfer from reading skills in the home language. This fundamental difference in approach from French language teaching strategies put pedagogical interests before political or cultural considerations, despite the fact that fluency in the metropolitan language remained the long-term objective. Baldwin was the first British official to propose a concerted approach to the inter-related issue of teaching Gambian home languages and teaching the official language of government. Educational strategy in the Gambia shifted in another direction, however, when his recommendations to improve the language teaching situation were

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1. Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools for the year 1923, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1924, p.3.

2. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1931, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1932, p.6.

superseded by the Report of the West Africa Study Group (1953). This body approved of the tendency observed on their visit to West Africa in 1949/1950: "... in the majority of schools spoken English is introduced much earlier and used more extensively than is laid down in the syllabus."[1] They cited the lack of reading material in any African language as "one of the strongest arguments against the teaching of reading in the vernacular."[2] The continuing lack of government financial support for the promotion of a comprehensive language teaching strategy led to an increasing concentration on education through an English medium in the pre- and post- Independence era of the 1950s and 1960s. The constant laissez-faire approach to education in the Gambia thus enabled the English language gradually to gain the monopoly in language teaching strategy, as providing the 'easiest' solution. The potential role of Gambian languages within the educational system has nevertheless remained a controversial issue, resulting in their re-instatement into the current Educational Plan (1976-1986).[4]

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1. 'Report of the West Africa Study Group' led by Dr. G.B. Jeffery, in African Education (a study of educational policy and practice in British Tropical Africa), Oxford University Press, London, 1953, p.109.

2. Ibid., p.113.

3. See, for example, Sessional paper, No.8/1966: 'The development programme in education for the Gambia 1965-1975', UNESCO planning mission led by G.F. Sleight, Bathurst, November 1965, p.13.

4. See Chapter 2, section (2.4.).

1.3.7. Initial 'adaptive' language teaching strategies.

The less centralised, more flexible approach to language choice for teaching purposes in the Gambia contrasts with Senegal, despite the similarity in initial emphasis on teaching through the media of local languages[1] which characterised the first schools established in each territory. Jean Dard (who was sent to St. Louis by the Ministere de la Marine, chargé des Colonies, in 1817) and Hannah Kilham (the Quaker missionary who visited the Gambia and Sierra Leone in 1823) were both acutely aware of the pedagogical difficulties of teaching through the medium of a foreign language. Hannah Kilham had begun preparing phrase books in Wolof before leaving London, with assistance from two Wolof-speaking sailors from Gorée and the Gambia,[2] because she was convinced that communication between missionaries and potential converts would be facilitated by the use of a local, rather than a foreign, language. This outlook was fully substantiated by her visit to the Gambia, where she observed the difference between teaching through the medium of English, and teaching literacy in Wolof.[3]

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1. The foreword to Jean Dard's Dictionnaire français-wolof et français-bambara, Imprimerie Royale, Paris, 1825, referred to William Singleton's preliminary visit to the Gambia in 1821, and Mrs Kilham's language work, in order to show "qu'on était animé à Paris et à Londres des mêmes vues et de la même sollicitude pour la connaissance des langues de l'Afrique et l'amélioration du sort des indigènes..."

2. See p. 38,fn.1.

3. For example, she commented on the Liberated Africans in her diary (19 February, 1824): ".. They learn English slowly, from not understanding the meaning of their spelling lessons. If very little books were formed in their own language, and then easy translations at the same time in English, they would have some idea attached to all they learn, which now they have not.." (Biller, S.,Ed.,op.cit., 1837:213).

After his arrival in St. Louis, Dard became similarly aware of the potential significance of local languages for teaching purposes. He started using simple contrastive Wolof/French vocabulary tables in classes at the Ecole Mutuelle de St. Louis in 1818, after problems in implementing the 'progressive' teaching methods of Bell and Lancaster[1] solely through the French language. Like Mrs Kilham, he vividly describ ed his observations on the difficulties of learning to spell in a foreign language, compared to learning to spell a word whose sound and meaning were already familiar to his pupils.[2] From both Hannah Kilham and Jean Dard's experiences, the crucial inter-relationship between learning and understanding appears to have been facilitated by the use of the local medium.

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1. Rev. Andrew Bell (1753-1832) had introduced the 'monitorial system of instruction', through which the more advanced pupils helped the younger ones, after experimenting in Madras towards the end of the eighteenth century (See Bell, A., 'An analysis of the experiment in education made at Egmore, near Madras', Tracts on Education, Vol.i, 1807). Joseph Lancaster, in following his example, likewise contributed to the development of elementary education in Britain. They both gained international recognition for propagating this particular method of teaching (See A Cyclopedia of Education, Macmillan, New York, 1911 and 1912, Vols. 1 & 3).

2. Dard wrote in the introduction to his Grammaire Wolof, Imprimerie Royale, Paris, 1826: "J'ai souvent remarqué que le jeune noir n'épelle les mots français que dans l'espoir d'en former des sons propres à son langage naturel. Si, après les avoir étudiés, il ne trouve pour résultat qu'un son barbare pour son oreille, il s'écrie Kiley dou dara (cela signifie rien), et ne veut plus étudier. Mais si, au contraire on lui donne à épeler un mot africain, il le médite avec soin, parce que chaque syllabe lui fait entendre le son final d'un mot entier: alors il le répète jusqu'à ce qu'il puisse l'écrire sur le sable et l'expliquer à ses camarades..."

Hannah Kilham and Jean Dard tended to rely on translation between Wolof and the official language of government in these early experiments. Their use of local languages cannot be divorced entirely from the teaching of English and French, since this was the immediate objective after establishing basic literacy. The importance of their respective initiatives lay in their fundamental choice of using a local language, as opposed to concentrating on teaching exclusively through a foreign medium.

The attitudes of Jean Dard and Hannah Kilham to the socio-cultural situations in which they were teaching differed from the contemporary official approach. They both demonstrated a certain respect for the language and culture of their pupils, which had been influenced by their sympathies for learning difficulties in this context. Dard complained in the introduction to his Grammaire Wolof (1826): "la civilisation des Wolofs est plus que negligée, elle est mise en oubli, puisque l'on a cessé d'instruire les noirs du Sénégal dans leur propre langue..." Hannah Kilham wrote in her diary on 13 May 1824 (1837:240): "How I long to see the languages I have already mentioned cultivated!". Another entry on 24 June 1824 (1837:251) recorded her conviction that teaching solely through English could not achieve the same encouraging results: "I feel fully satisfied of the importance of cultivating the native languages of Africa, if we could do the people good, and of making their own language the medium, where we wish them to acquire English, that I feel surprised when I hear any proposal to supersede the native languages of Africa by English, through the medium

of English books alone..."

Nevertheless, both teachers were imbued with the need to communicate effectively in order to achieve their evangelising objectives. It is clear from Hannah Kilham's diary (1837), and from her African Lessons: Wolof and English in Three parts (1823), that her aim was to facilitate the teaching of the Holy Scriptures. Likewise, Jean Dard cannot be idealised in retrospect in modern Senegal for teaching through a Wolof medium merely in order to provide "un outil de libération à l'homme noir" (Gaucher, 1968:59). Despite his recognition that the Wolof at least had a civilisation of their own, he was committed to the same paternalistic Christian objectives as his superiors in the Ministère de la Marine. For example, in boasting to the Minister about the interest of British philanthropic societies in his work,[1] he drew attention to the function of l'Ecole Wolof-Française in consolidating the acquisition of the metropolitan language. He had reiterated earlier in the same correspondence his commitment to the spread of the French language, in opposition to English, as an instrument in the imperial rivalry for political influence in Senegambia.

Although Dard's initiative was followed by other teachers at l'Ecole Mutuelle de St. Louis during the 1820s,[2]

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1. He referred to a request to establish "une école Wolof-anglaise sur les bords de la rivière de Gambie" under their auspices in a letter to the Ministre de la Marine chargé des Colonies, 20 April 1822, reproduced in Gaucher (1968:165).

2. e.g. Dominique Daspres, Jean-Baptiste Epinat (see Bouche, 1975:89; Gaucher, 1968:98).

they tended to rely on more rigid grammar analysis and translation techniques. Despite his attempt, on his return in 1832, to revive the more refined, indirect methods of teaching French, developed during his first posting (1817-1820), these experiments terminated with his death in 1833.[1] In any case, growing controversy had emerged during his absence over whether translation "dans une langue que nous ne connaissons que par une théorie encore incertaine"[2] could impede, or facilitate, comprehension of the French language. In the Gambia, laissez-faire government attitudes left missionaries free to take the initiative in language choice for teaching purposes. In Senegal, on the other hand, Dard's use of Wolof as a teaching medium led to a sharp counter-reaction from the 1830s onwards, because of the potential threat which his approach embodied for a particularly ethnocentric cultural mission. Hardy quotes Governor Jubelin's complaint in 1829 that "même les enfants Européens parlent le ouolof au moins autant que le français", while his colleague the Controleur Colonial Roussin identified "le vice fondamental du système" as "l'emploi de la langue indigène, langue parlée, mais non

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1. On Dard's teaching in general, see Hardy,G., 'L'enseignement au Sénégal de 1817 à 1854', Bulletin du Comité d' Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'AOF, 1921, pp.116-136; Gaucher,J., Les débuts de l'enseignement en Afrique francophone. Jean Dard et l'école mutuelle de Saint-Louis du Sénégal, Le Livre Africain, Paris, 1968; Bouche (1975: ch.1, pp.52-92).

2. Le Controleur Colonial Roussin, quoted by Bouche (1975: 90).

ecrite, comme moyen d'arriver a l'instruction des eleves..."[1]
As the implications of Dard's choice of language teaching media for the French cultural mission became evident, officials serving in Senegal began to advocate the exclusive use of French in all educational establishments. Reservations, that the professed aim of promoting a 'civilising' language and culture might be threatened by competitive patterns in language usage, arose when Dard's methods appeared to result in the natural tendency to lapse into the local medium, rather than to instigate expression in the metropolitan language. The freedom of choice of language teaching medium, consistently enjoyed by missionary teachers in the Gambia, could not be tolerated in the more centralised, government controlled educational system in the neighbouring territory. It was the dogmatic imposition of French as the only teaching medium which, after Dard's failure to modify decisively the official educational strategy, characterised the fundamental difference between the development of education in colonial Senegal and the Gambia.

1.3.8. The 'assimilationist' counter reaction in language teaching strategy.

Persistent adherence to this 'assimilationist' policy, throughout subsequent colonial administrations, entailed deterring the use of African languages in the

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1. Cited by Hardy, 1921, op.cit., pp.122,123.

playground, as well as in the classroom. The socio-cultural consequences of this strategy were to relegate the use of African languages to a more inferior position than they embodied in the Gambia, where, although the metropolitan language was similarly the language of upward social mobility, the use of African languages was not so rigidly condemned. Zealous teachers, such as Abbé Boilat (1853:12) encouraged parents who spoke French to adopt the same policy in the home: "Vous devez les aider de toute votre pouvoir à diriger et maintenir vos enfants dans la voie du progrès. L'un des moyens que vous devez employer est de leur parler en français et d'exiger d'elles, qu'elles ne parlent point d'autre langue dans vos maisons." The Frères Ploërmel vigorously pursued the same policy during the nineteenth century (Recoing, 1878:7), with the punitive threat of 'le symbole'[1] used to prevent recourse to Wolof (Bouche, 1975, pp.174,175).

This method of eliciting the exclusive use of French was harmful not only in its denigration of the mother tongue, but also in creating an atmosphere of nervous tension which undermined the learning process. Abdou Moumouni (1964:56) refers to "la hantise et la peur du 'symbole'" in his description of French colonial education in Africa; while Bernard Dadié (1953, re-ed. 1973: 107) vividly recaptures the same experience through Climbié's

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1. A small object in the classroom would be passed to whoever accidentally expressed themselves in a local language (as opposed to French), with the person left with the symbole at the end of the day punished and ridiculed.

eyes: "Le symbole! Vous ne savez pas ce que c'est! Vous en avez la chance. C'est un cauchemar! Il empêche de rire, de vivre dans l'école, car toujours on pense à lui. On ne cherche, on ne guette que le porteur du symbole. Où est-il? N'est-il pas chez celui-là? Chez cet autre? Le symbole semble être sous le pagne, dans la poche de chaque élève. L'on se regarde avec des yeux soupçonneux. Le symbole a empoisonné le milieu, vicié l'air, gelé les coeurs!" The negative effect of this measure, as a common educational practice in A.O.F., has also been cited by Paulin Hountondji (1967:15), Amadou Hampaté Bâ (1972:27), Léon Nadjo (1976:11) and Olabiyi Yai (1976:67)[1], with the consequence that it has ironically come to symbolise the most assimilatory aspects of French educational policy. Dadié (1953, re-ed. 1973:107) describes how Climbié wanders round school "la tête pleine d'idées, cherchant le moyen de se débarrasser au plus tôt de ce petit cube, si lourd parce qu'il est le symbole même de l'ensignement dispensé..." Its most detrimental legacy has been to consolidate the superior role of French in formal, prestigious domains, at the expense of attributing functions embodying less status to African languages.

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1. Paulin Hountondji and Olabiyi Yai, two University lecturers who began their education in what was then called 'Dahomey' (now The People's Republic of Benin), both use the term signal (rather than symbole) for a corrective device serving the same purpose.

1.4. Conclusion.

In so far as French cultural policy consistently adhered to the principle of using the French language as the sole teaching medium in its colonial territories, it can be said to have embodied a more assimilationist political and cultural orientation than the more adaptive approach in the British territory. The British colonial authorities did not profess to encompass such socio-cultural objectives with the same moral fervour and commitment, and so consequently did not develop such a positive, ethnocentric language teaching strategy. Political and economic considerations were necessarily an intrinsic part of British colonial policy, but their complementary educational interests were less extensive and less ambitious in conception. The less centralised, laissez-faire educational system which evolved in the Gambia, was characterised by a lack of official direction and clearly formulated policies. This affected its susceptibility to imperial cultural and linguistic policies. The difference between Senegal and the Gambia, in the degree of French or British cultural and linguistic assimilation, has left a sharper distinction in the former case between the status and function of official languages and the corresponding connotations and role of local African languages. This difference in colonial sociolinguistic experience has had repercussions on the formulation of current language teaching policies.

CHAPTER 2

CURRENT LANGUAGE TEACHING STRATEGIES

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CURRENT LANGUAGE TEACHING STRATEGIES

Introduction

Metropolitan attitudes to the relative significance of political, cultural, social and pedagogical variables in formulating educational policy have influenced the different strategies evident in contemporary Senegal and the Gambia. Both governments have retained the particular infra-structure of the educational system established under colonial rule, but they have modified the inter-relationship between the official/foreign/classical/ and local languages that constitute their language teaching strategies. However, the fundamental colonial contrast, between the more organised, centralised approach used in Senegal, and the laissez-faire development evident in the Gambia, is still reflected by respective government attitudes to the role of the official language in relation to the other linguistic elements on the curriculum.

2.1. Official Language Teaching Strategies.

The teaching of the metropolitan language, retained by each government as their official language, continues to be a fundamental objective of educational strategies in the two countries. The official language serves as the medium of instruction for all subjects on the curriculum, with even the teaching of foreign and classical languages dependent on translation into this medium. The teaching of

English or French relates not only to the primary role in colonial government and commerce which each continues to play in contemporary Gambia or Senegal, but also to its political significance as an international language of communication. The use of French or English as an official language, rather than any Senegambian language, thus presents a unifying, national solution, that, at the same time, serves the wider function of initiating the state into the international community. The historical role of English and French as colonial languages has of course contributed to their expansion as world languages, thus providing the Gambian and Senegalese governments with instruments for international cooperation. This entails the teaching of one language as a 'second' language, or 'target' language of the educational system, whereas the other emerges as the first foreign language that is taught as a subject at secondary level. The Senegalese and Gambian governments therefore consider that the political function of English and French at national and international levels supercedes any imperialist connotations arising from their former role in colonial development. The linguistic legacy from the colonial experience has facilitated links with territories subjected to the same strategy, thereby enhancing the significance of English or French in the international sphere. In both states emphasis on the political expedience of using English or French in government has so far allayed any counter reactions against the European language arising from its identification with the political, economic and cultural domination of the former metropolitan power.

The Senegalese government stresses the special significance of its colonial linguistic heritage in the field of diplomacy "car ce sont ses qualités de clarté et d'equilibre qui en faisaient l'outil, par excellence, de la communication internationale."[1] President Senghor is prone to citing these characteristics[2] "qui ont fait du français, pendant trois siècles, une langue universelle, singulièrement la langue de la science et de la diplomatie",[3] whether justifying its retention as the official language, rather than a Senegambian language,[4] or whether stressing its greater potentiality, compared to English, as an instrument for promoting foreign relations.[5] The Gambian government has similarly used its colonial language heritage as a basis for its official language strategy, but this

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1. Speech by M. de Président de la République, Ve Biennale de la Langue Française, Fédération du Français Universel, Dakar, 3.12.73, p.12.

2. The tendency to glorify and idealise the French language in colonial strategy (see p.22) has resulted in a closer emotional attachment to this medium, and the tendency to extol its virtues, evident in President Senghor's speeches. Mazrui has argued that the "emotionally more neutral" connotations of the English language helped to foster the emergence of national consciousness in British Africa, whereas similar aspirations among Francophone African leaders were slower to manifest themselves because of the "militant linguistic cosmopolitanism" or universalism" inherent in their usage of this particular language (See Mazrui,A., The Political Sociology of the English Language, Mouton, The Hague, 1975:pp.49,50).

3. Senghor, L.S., 'Le problème des langues vernaculaires ou le bilinguisme comme solution', Afrique Nouvelle, 3.1.58, reprinted in Liberté I (1964:229).

4. e.g. Speech at the inauguration of the regional branch of AUPELF in Dakar, reported in Le Soleil, 5.11.74.

5. e.g. Speech at the University of Oxford, 'Anglophonie et Francophonie', 26.10.73.

relates to pragmatic and practical considerations arising from the significance of English as a world language, rather than to any innate cultural or sociolinguistic historical qualities that this language might possess.

President Senghor's conception of the role of their official language is closely allied to an educational strategy which is orientated towards "le bilinguisme - ou le multilinguisme. Le plus fécond est celui que unit les langues et, partant, les civilisations les plus opposées."[1] While denying that this obviates the complementary role of Senegambian languages, he praises the universal qualities of the French language that contribute to "notre authenticite de métis culturels, d'hommes du XXe siècle", and provide a "merveilleux outil" for facilitating contact in the unified utopia ("la civilisation de l'universel") towards which the different peoples of the world are moving.[2] The political and cultural functions of the official language are clearly illustrated by the concept of 'la Francophonie', to which the Senegalese government subscribes in association with other states who recognise the unifying role of this language of wider communication. A member of the Senegalese government has described how la Francophonie presents an effective means of promoting greater understanding between peoples of different races and cultural backgrounds, through the medium of the French language: "L'usage du français nous

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1. République du Sénégal: Décret relatif à la transcription les langues nationales, Exposé des Motifs, Imprimerie Nationale, Rufisque, April 1972, p.8.

2. Article in Esprit, November 1962, reprinted in Liberté I (1964:363).

a habitué à l'esprit français, à la vision française des problèmes. Cette situation nous met en mesure de nous comprendre tous les francophones; ainsi s'institue une puissante solidarité de fait fondée sur l'usage commun d'une langue..."[1] Since this international conception of the role of the official language is not merely instrumental, but depends fundamentally on understanding fostered by a common experience of French thinking and culture among the ruling élites, it would seem that a major priority in Senegalese educational strategy relates to the cultural potential of its main target language for promoting foreign relations.

The role of the official language as an instrument for international co-operation raises the problem of what model of the target language should be adopted for the educational system, in order to ensure maximum intelligibility between different speakers of the official language as a second language. Laissez-faire attitudes to the development of regional varieties of English and French can be interpreted as being detrimental to the role of each official language as a world language. Prator (1968: 469) for example, has condemned the tendency towards such tolerance in Anglophone countries as the "British heresy in TESL", claiming "the strongest argument in favour of maintaining a mother tongue variety of the language as the

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1. Speech by Monsieur Alioune Sène, Ministre de la Culture, Semaine de la Francophonie organised by the Association Internationale des Parlementaires de Langue Française, Dakar, March 1975, Le Soleil, 15.3.75.

model ... is that if teachers in many different parts of the world aim at the same stable, well documented model, the general effect of their instruction will be convergent." Protagonists of a 'purist' model for the official language tend to identify this as the structural, lexical and phonological variety of French spoken in Paris[1], or the register of English known as 'Received Pronunciation' (RP), that approximates to the English spoken in South-east England.[1] The colonial linguistic legacy can therefore continue to influence current language teaching strategies through the maintenance of an élitist, metropolitan model. This external standard undermines the status of localised registers of English or French arising from the particular situations in which the official language serves as a lingua franca. The local registers of each official language thus come into conflict with its international role, and with the mother-tongue model employed in the Senegalese and Gambian educational systems. Government attitudes to these divergent roles of each official language have been influenced by differing conceptions of the role of the metropolitan language in colonial educational strategy.

The French tendency to be more purist and protectionist towards propagating a particular standard of their language was evident in Richelieu's foundation of the Académie Française, whose main function was to prescribe strict rules governing the composition and usage of the official language. This centralising policy, which has been

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1. In each case, these standards approximate to the language spoken by the so-called 'middle class'/'bourgeoisie'.

upheld at the expense of regional varieties of French (Alexandre, 1963:53), was in turn extended to French territories overseas (Calvet, L-J., 1974:21, et seq.) and still exerts a decisive influence on Senegalese educational strategy in its emphasis on the international currency of the official language.[1] Although the British tradition compares with this attempt to control language usage in its greater tolerance towards regional varieties of the English language,[2] the metropolitan register nevertheless acquired particular prestige leading to a 'diglossic' situation in colonies like the Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria. This resulted in higher status being attributed to the literary standard taught in school to the detriment of local, demotic registers of the official language. The phenomenon of diglossia[3] is particularly common in West African Anglophone states where an English-based Creole or Pidgin language exists alongside the

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1. One significant consequence of this more protectionist attitude of the French towards the use of their language overseas has been that Senegalese (educated) French remains closer to the Paris standard than West African (educated) English to standard British English (cf. pp. 66-68; 72-74).

2. See, for example, the proceedings of the Leverhulme conference (1961) edited by Spencer (1963:125).

3. Ferguson (1959) introduced this term to describe a situation in which at least two varieties of the same language are used in different circumstances. Fishman (1968) extended this distinction to "diglossia of a more modern sort", in Africa south of the Sahara, in which an official language co-exists with local, indigenous languages.

official language. Whereas in the Gambia its usage as a first language or lingua franca has been considered as a harmful influence on the propagation of a British standard English in school, it has not had the same degenerative connotations as in Senegal[1] that have led to such determined efforts to prevent the development of a "franlof: une créolisation de la langue française."[2]

In Senegal, such fears resulted in extensive comparative linguistic research into Wolof and French in order to prevent the tendency for too great a divergence from standard French, in the contact situation between French and Wolof. Research on error analysis and phonological studies of Senegambian languages (in particular Wolof) in relation to French were therefore immediate priorities in the early orientation of the Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar.[3] The findings have been incorporated into the conception of a special method Pour Parler Français for use in Senegalese primary schools. This strategy takes into account the particular difficulties of learning French as a second language in Senegal, but dependence on the French mother-tongue model is evident in CLAD's concern to

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1. e.g. Rudigoz, C. (1967:7): "le pidgin English, les différents parlers créoles français ou anglais, qui sont des formes assurement très aberrantes de ces langues de culture..."

2. Calvet, M. & Dumont, P., 'Le français au Sénégal', BIFAN, Vol. XXXI, Sér.B, No.1, 1969, p.243.

3. i.e. CLAD publications nos. 4,6,7,8,15,17,19 (1964-1966).

eliminate as far as possible the phonemic characteristics of the Francophone Wolof, in order to approximate to what French 'experts' consider to be "un accent tolérable". The method also emphasizes the development of oral fluency in French, neglected under traditional French language teaching pedagogy, in which priority was given to written skills.[1]

The current orientation of official language teaching strategy in both countries reflects a departure from the tendency in colonial educational policy to teach the foreign language according to the same methods and materials as in the metropole. The Gambia has not, however, undertaken large scale contrastive studies between its local languages and English in order to improve the teaching of the target language. Even though comparative linguistic research, undertaken in Senegal between English, French and Wolof, could be adapted for use in the second and foreign language teaching strategies in the neighbouring country; the absence of a counterpart in the Gambia to the Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar has prevented the development of English language courses based on the first or second language of the speech community. The English course books used tend to be an improvement on traditional methods in that they are related to the West African context of teaching English as a second language through their subject matter and through being structurally and

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1. Calvet, M. & Dumont (1969:245) have criticised this method for its pre-occupation with "la fétichisation de l'écriture".

lexically graded.[1] The 'International Teaching Alphabet' (i.t.a.) project, that began in nineteen classes in 1969, aimed to accelerate literacy in English by initially stressing phonic methods.[2] It benefitted from the close involvement of an English specialist, George O'Halloran. His wide experience of language and education in the Gambia[3] helped in the adaptation of teaching material.[4] In 1969, the Gambian i.t.a. programme represented the most ambitious i.t.a. experiment in a country where English was not the mother-tongue.[5] Nevertheless, the results of this pilot project have been insufficient to convince the Gambian authorities that the 'straight for English' strategy should be extended throughout the Gambia in preference to

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1. e.g. Moody's Organised English, Montgomery's Effective English and New Nation English are cited in the 'English Language Teaching Profile for the Gambia', ETIC, British Council, June, 1975.

2. Joof, S., 'The I.T.A. project in the Republic of the Gambia', ITA Journal, No.20, February 1971, pp.17-19.

3. He had been associated with the literacy project in Mandinka at Genieri (see p. 42) in his capacity as Education Officer in the Gambia. His publications include 'The Mechanical Grading of a Primer in a Hitherto Unwritten African Vernacular', Proceedings of the 6th International I.T.A. Conference, University of York, September 1969, pp.112-117.

4. After he became secretary of the I.T.A. association, he was co-author, with N. Insley of the text-book Dynamic English that was distributed to Gambian schools in 1969. The i.t.a. alphabet was slightly modified for use in the Gambia (See Report in ETIC file, the British Council, on the course at Yundum Training College 11-26 Sept., 1969 to introduce teachers from twenty primary schools to i.t.a., by A.S. Newberry, Head of the English Department, ATTC, Winneba, 13.10.67).

5. ITA Journal, No.16, November 1969.

their current proposals to use Senegambian languages as teaching media.

Despite the greater awareness of different varieties of the official language in West African Anglophone states, the British mother-tongue model remains the structural standard used in Gambian, Sierra Leonean, Ghanaian and Nigerian schools. Recent controversies over the desirability of establishing national standards for English in Ghana[1] and Nigeria[2] suggest that in future a more relevant local model might replace the British standard as the main teaching medium, although similar debate has not yet taken place in the Gambia. The absence of contrastive linguistic studies and the lack of audio-lingual teaching methods (apart from the tape-recording medium used in conjunction with the i.t.a. project) demonstrate a less concerted attempt in the Gambia to 'correct' divergences from Received Pronunciation. In common with Senegal, Gambian primary school teachers are not mother-tongue speakers of the official language, but the Senegalese model approximates more closely to the French standard of pronunciation and intonation. French ex-patriates, rather than Senegalese speakers, are used in Senegal for the radio programme that accompanies each lesson of the Pour Parler Français course.

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1. e.g. Amonoo, R.F. (1963), Grieve, D.W. (1964), Boadi, L.A. (1971), Criper, L. (1971), Sey, K. (1973), Norrish, J. & Ridden, G. (1974).

2. e.g. Brosnahan, L.F. (1958), Salami, A. (1958), Achebe, C. (1964), Moody, H.L.B. (1968), Banjo,A. (1971,1975,1976), Bamgbose, A. (1971). (Issues raised by these university teachers and educationalists are discussed in greater detail on pp.73,74).

Controversy over this phonological model arose in correspondence to Le Soleil in April and March, 1975, arising out of an article entitled 'La voix de son Maître'.[1] The journalist interpreted the emphasis on "Prononcer: c'est-à-dire à parler en toubab[2] "as a potential source of alienation, since "c'est ainsi que s'accomplit déjà un premier déclassement socio-linguistique entre ceux qui parlent le français en ouolofs ou sérères qu'ils sont, et ceux qui se distinguent d'eux par leur faculté à 'prononcer'."[1] The juxtaposition of two different accents in the classroom was regarded as undermining the status of the Senegalese teacher, since the voice on the radio programme is put forward as the superior model. The Director of the Centre de Linguistique Appliquée (CLAD) retaliated in equivocal defence of metropolitan standard pronunciation for Senegalese school children: "La méthode propose certes un type de prononciation qui est celle des Français. Mais quoi de plus naturel, quand on apprend une langue, que de savoir la prononcer?".[3] It is obvious which standard he considers to be superior, despite the fact that Senegalese speakers of French may not find this the easiest, or the most natural target. The controversy ranged over the pedagogic and socio-cultural difficulties arising from the CLAD French course, but, whereas the President considered this debate to be part of the "crise qui traverse actuellement

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1. See 'Chronique: La voix de son maître' by Ibrahima Gaye, Le Soleil, 11.3.75.

2. i.e. like a Frenchman.

3. 'Chronique de la Chronique: A propos de "La voix de son maître"' by Pierre Dumont, Le Soleil, 12.3.75.

l'enseignement du français",[1] it has strengthened the current re-orientation of Senegalese language teaching strategy to include initial literacy in a major mother-tongue. The public addresses at the Concours Général in July 1975, reaffirmed government support for the French mother-tongue structural, phonological and lexical model, with the President proposing greater provision for the teaching of grammar at secondary level in order to improve the "enseignement sénégalais du français."[2]

The possibility that laxity in teaching grammatical structures could accentuate declining standards in French has been reiterated in other articles in Le Soleil in 1975. For example, in January, fears that the mandarin variety of French, 'le français de l'hexagone', was in jeopardy, were evident in the reprinting in Le Soleil of an article by Pierre Gaxotte of the Académie Française, entitled 'L'Assassinat du français'.[3] In March, another article expressed similar concern about the 'decline' in French language teaching standards under an equally emotive title: 'Le massacre du "français"'.[4] The customary opening address at the Concours Général concentrated on

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1. Address delivered to the Concours Général 1975, reported in Le Soleil, 11.7.75. The Concours Général is the occasion for speeches and prize giving following the national secondary school students' competition.

2. Idem.

3. Article by Pierre Gaxotte in Le Figaro, 14.1.74, reprinted in Le Soleil, 27.1.75.

4. Article by Mbaye Mbengue, Le Soleil, 7.3.75.

the same subject, with the speaker deploring "une dégradation grave de l'enseignement du français à tous les niveaux".[1] He therefore advocated a structural or generative grammatical approach (rather than recourse to more traditional methods[2]), since he subscribed to the President's opinion that mastery of French cannot be achieved without first learning its grammar.[3] Both this representative of the teaching profession and the President, in his reply, urged re-emphasis on prescriptive language teaching methods, since failure to learn grammatical rules could accentuate the development of a particular Senegalese register of French. Government pre-occupation with this "laxisme généralisée qui affecte actuellement l'emploi de la langue française" has resulted in the establishment of a 'Commission Nationale de Réforme de l'Enseignement français', whose primary aim is to "rénover et de révaloriser l'enseignement de la grammaire à tous les niveaux, du Primaire au Secondaire"[4]. In seeking to safeguard the stylistic usage of French as a written medium, the Government has also tried to prescribe rules governing

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1. Le Concours Général 1975, Address by Monsieur Simon Sékèle Bakhoum, teacher at the Lycée Blaise Diagne: 'L'Enseignement du français: ses problèmes' published in Le Soleil, 12.7.75.

2. i.e. the functional approach that the President had condemned in his address to the 'Ve Biennale de la langue française', Dakar, 3.12.73, p.10.

3. e.g. Idem, p.9.

4. Abdel Kader Fall, then Directeur du Cabinet du Ministre d'état chargé de l'Education nationale, writing in Le Soleil, 27.5.75, on 'La Réforme grammaticale au Sénégal'.

'correct' as opposed to 'lax' habits.[1]

The President's concern to preserve the linguistic purity of the French language has also led to condemnation of "une sorte de sabir, où les mots français, détournés de leurs sens, parfois déformés, se mêlent aux néologismes hasardeux et aux mots wolof dans une sorte de bouillie linguistique, incompréhensibe aux non-initiés. Témoins ces élégants messieurs qui 'descendent' du travail après avoir 'chosé' des 'problèmes' importants..."[2] He has clearly identified the literary model of French as the target language of the Senegalese educational system: "S'il faut faire choix d'un instrument, il serait absurde de ne pas vouloir qu'il fût le meilleur possible, celui-la, précisément, qu'ont affiné, durant des siècles, des centaines d'orfèvres: les grands écrivains... Et c'est ce français-là que nous voulons, que nous devons faire nôtre, et non je ne sais quel français basique pour parler français, langue grossière à usage touristique ou commercial ..."[3] In Senegalese language teaching strategy, language and culture are thus inextricably linked in both curriculum

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1. e.g. Décret No. 73-955, novembre, 1973, relatif à l'enrichissement de la langue française (explaining the meaning and usage of a large number of scientific and technical terms); Loi 74-57 du 28 novembre 1974 relative à la transcription des noms propres sénégalais en français and Décret No.75-262 du 10 mars 1975 relatif à la transcription des mots français dans un texte en langue nationale et des mots sénegalais dans un texte en français (both printed in Le Soleil, 24.5.75); Decret du 10 octobre 1975 sur l'emploi des majuscules dans les textes administratives (printed in Le Soleil, 31.1.76).

2. Address to the Concours Général 1975, published in Le Soleil, 11.7.75.

3. Address to the Concours Général 1975, published in Le Soleil, 11.7.75.

content and target language: "le français sans sa litterature, c'est le couteau sans la lame..."[1]

Protectionist attitudes to the French language have been further strengthened by fears about its international currency. Concern that the role of French as a world language may be jeopardised by the greater significance of English[2] has resulted in the establishment of a number of defensive[3] organisations, such as L'Association des Universites partiellement ou entièrement de Langue Française (1962), Le Conseil International de la Langue Française (1967), L'Association Internationale des Parlementaires de Langue Française (1967), La Fédération du Français Universel and L'Agence de Coopération

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1. Address to the Concours Général 1975, published in Le Soleil, 11.7.75.

2. The primary role of English as a world language has been illustrated by data analysed for the XXVIIth International Conference on Public Education in 1964 in which English was taught as a foreign language in more than half of the participating countries, whereas French was taught in approximately a third (See Modern Languages at General Secondary Schools, International Bureau and UNESCO, Geneva, 1964). The 'International Studies in Evaluation' on the teaching of English (Glyn Lewis,E. & Massad, C.E., 1975) and on the teaching of French as a foreign language (Carroll, J.B., 1975) reach the same conclusion about the "unique position of English".

3. The 'defensive' aspect of these organisations, in relation to their common linguistic connection, is evident in the first article of the constitution setting up CILF, which defines its aim as "la sauvegarde et l'unité de la langue française dans le monde" (quoted by L.S. Senghor, in his address at the inauguration of the chair of Francophone studies at the University of Paris-Sorbonne, published in Le Soleil, 16.12.74). The address by Monsieur Hamani Diori (then President of the Republic of Niger) at the meeting he convened in Niamey, 17-20 February 1969 (which resulted in the establishment of L'Agence), expressed similar fears about "cette situation défavorable" (See 'Allocution du Président Hamani Diori', published in Francophonie 71, No.2, December 1971, p.6).

Culturelle et Technique (1970). The Senegalese government's concern for the survival of French as a world language has emerged in the series of international meetings, held under the auspices of these organisations, to which it has been host.[1] The dominant theme of these conferences has been oriented towards consolidating adherence to 'la Francophonie', which now makes a point of stressing the complementary international role of French to local first or second languages.[2]

This concern to maintain a particular standard form of French, in order to compete with the currency of English as a language of wider communication, partly accounts for the less flexible approach to varieties of the official language in Francophone states like Senegal. The controversy over national standards of English may not yet have arisen in the Gambia, but analogies can be drawn with the similar diglossic situations in Ghana and Nigeria. Some Ghanaian linguists consider that, although accent may differ from Received Pronunciation, structure should remain similar to the British standard (Amonoo, 1963:81).

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1. e.g. Ve Biennale de la Langue Française, organised by the Fédération du Français Universel, Dakar, December 1973; Semaine de la Francophonie, organised by the Association des Parlementaires de Langue Française, Dakar, 11-14 March, 1975; Colloque sur les Relations entre les Langues Africaines et la Langue Française, Conseil International de la Langue Française (CILF), Dakar, 24-26 March, 1976.

2. It is significant that l'Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique is now prone to stressing "la multiplicité de cultures, d'expériences, de langues" of its member states to counter accusations that it exists to perpetuate French cultural and linguistic imperialism (See, for example, interviews with Claude Roquet (secrétaire général adjoint) and Dan Dicko (secrétaire genéral) in Le Soleil, 15.3.75 and 19.3.75, respectively).

The problem of divergence from the British mother-tongue standard, equated with international intelligibility, has led some linguists to question whether an 'educated West African' register of English "already exists, or is to be deliberately cultivated" for teaching purposes (Boadi, 1971:53)? On the other hand, another Ghanaian linguist has attempted to describe elements in 'Educated Ghanaian English' that make it particularly local, while vigorously resisting the suggestion that a national standard of Ghanaian English should be popularised (Sey, 1973:9). The question of whether the evolution of these varieties of English at a national level are undermining its role as a world language has been taken up recently in Britain by organisations, like the Royal Commonwealth Society[1] and the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL)[2], for whom the international currency of English is of functional importance. The Nigerian linguist, Ayo Banjo (1976:94) has pointed out that "the concept of a world language is not mutually exclusive with that of national standards. In fact, we may define a national standard of English (e.g. Standard British and Standard American) as that variety

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1. The Royal Commonwealth Society organised seminars on 'The future of English as a world-wide medium of communication' in April and November, 1974. See 'Record of the meeting held on 15 November, 1974' (Cyclostyled), and the Royal Commonwealth Society Newsletter, April/May, 1975.

2. The theme of the ninth international IATEFL conference, Oxford, 4-7 January, 1977, was 'The teaching and learning of English as a language of international communication'. See IATEFL Newsletter, No.47, April 1977, pp.9-14.

among others in a speech community which satisfies the criterion of international intelligibility."[1] As a first step towards establishing a national second language standard, it may be more realistic to use a local phonological model than to continue to impose Received Pronunciation (Norrish 1977), despite Prator's plea (1968) to the contrary. This pragmatic solution to the problem of the choice of target language model has not yet been officially adopted in Senegalese or Gambian language teaching strategies.

Despite official concern for the purity of the teaching model in Senegal, greater tolerance towards regional varieties of French is gradually emerging in some university departments. A new approach to the question of how rigidly the target language model should be protected has recently been evident. The Département de Linguistique[2] and the Centre de Linguistique Appliquée[3] have initiated

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1. cf. Ali Mazrui's contention (1975:pp.13,14) that the prolific development of African literature in English is a necessary process in the "de-Anglicization and de-racialization of the English language", which has its distinctive characteristics without "departing so far from mutual intelligibility as to render the language no longer useful as a universal language..."

2. Current research by Mme G. Ndiaye has been cited by Jean Schmidt in the introduction to his paper 'Les Sénégalismes', presented to the Ve Biennale de la langue française, Dakar, December, 1973 and published in Le Français hors de France. Fédération du Français Universel, NEA, Dakar, 1975, pp.237-247.

3. The research at CLAD is linked to a wider programme that is investigating African varieties of French. This includes the AUPELF project for establishing a dictionnary for Francophone Africa and the IDERIC project, led by Professor Manessy at the University of Nice, which is collaborating with African linguistic centres in recording local varieties of French (See Blonde, J., 'Pour une description du francais d'Afrique Réalités Africaines et Langue Francaise, CLAD Bulletin, No.1, May, 1975.

research to document the 'sénégalismes' that characterise the French spoken in Senegal. This has consequently led to tentative questioning of the validity of the universal standard[1] based on 'le français de l'hexagone', but research at the university has not yet been extended to distinguish the different varieties of the official language, as detected, for example, in Nigeria (Banjo, 1975).

Nevertheless, the identification of lexical and structural variants from the mother-tongue model may eventually lead to a more practical standard being used for teaching purposes, which will not necessarily prove detrimental to the international function of the official language.

2.2. Foreign Language Teaching Strategies.

The roles of both English and French in the international and regional spheres have influenced the Senegalese and Gambian governments to include one of these languages as the first foreign language in a situation where the other serves as official language. Language teaching strategies reflect foreign policies that aim to facilitate Pan-African relations through surmounting the historical legacy of different official languages. Jawara sees the expansion of the French teaching programme in the Gambia

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1. e.g. Schmidt, J., 'Remarques sur la norme du français et sur quelques definitions de dictionnaires', unpublished article, Dakar, 1975; Introduction to the Première approche lexicale du français au Sénégal, No.2, CLAD, 1975, p.2.

in the 1970s[1] as being designed to "ease the communications problem. The Senegalese are doing something similar...", with the common objective being to enhance "not only greater understanding of people, but also of our institutions, and this is where a good deal of the difficulty comes in - in the appreciation by the Senegalese of our English-type institutions, and appreciation by us, our civil servants, our judges, of Senegalese institutions, based on the French system."[2] The President thus draws attention to a sector of the population whose different educational background and administrative training makes collaboration difficult,[3] but for whom fluency in the other language would be an advantage. Since the neighbouring

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1. i.e. from Senior Secondary schools to Junior Secondary schools, thereby making French compulsory for the first three years of all education at secondary level.

2. See interview in Africa magazine, No.15, November 1972.

3. The problem of collaboration at official level was anticipated by the team from the UN programme for Technical Assistance that investigated the options for closer cooperation open to both states on the eve of the independence of the Gambia (See Van Mook, H.J., et alia, Report on the Alternatives for Association between Senegal and the Gambia, Sessional paper No.13 of 1964, p.8 & p.10. This difficulty was confirmed by Seydina Sy, former Executive Secretary of the Senegambian Permanent Secretariat, speaking at the Colloquium on Senegambia, University of Aberdeen, April 1974: "...There are technical and psychological barriers. Technical barriers are not insuperable in spite of their complexity and the authorities of the two countries demonstrate their common will to progress step by step. This will is, however, often crippled by bureaucratic dilatoriness. In my opinion, senior officials represent by far the most serious and tenacious barrier to the achievement of SENEGAMBIA." (Proceedings, published by the Aberdeen University African Studies Group, 1974, p.131).

official language appears to be the key to closer co-operation, the Gambia teaches French as the first foreign language taught as a subject at secondary level, whereas Senegal gives similar priority to the teaching of English.

President Jawara and President Senghor have each made specific references to the teaching of French or English as the major foreign language studied as a subject in their educational systems in order to implement the Treaty of Association[1] between the two states. President Jawara, for example, commented in the context of Senegambia: "The outcome of a considerable degree of bilingualism on both sides should help in harmonising activities in more fields than are really possible now";[2] just as, with reference to wider Pan-African co-operation, he stated: "Comme le Président Senghor, je crois fermement à la necessité d'encourager le bilinguisme anglais et français.."[3] Nevertheless, although fluency in both of these languages is often cited as a solution to the problem of communication between neighbouring states, which have inherited different official languages from their colonial experience, the implementation of foreign language teaching policies is still hampered by vestiges of other colonial practices.

Despite similarity in intention, difference in implementation has had a decisive influence on the relative

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1. The Treaty of Association was signed by the two Governments on 19th April, 1967.
2. Interview in Africa magazine, No.15, November, 1972.
3. Interview in Le Soleil, 19.2.76.

effectiveness of these foreign language teaching strategies. The policy of teaching English in Senegal as *première langue vivante* at secondary level is similar to that in other Francophone West African systems of education.[1] English is therefore considered as the first foreign language taken as a compulsory subject, either throughout the seven years of secondary education, or for the last four years from *quatrième* to *terminale*. On the other hand, the teaching of French in the Gambia is much less extensive. While being compulsory for the first three years of secondary school, French can then be abandoned without taking the official regional examination (West African School Certificate) in the subject. It can be continued for the two-year course leading to Ordinary level, with further specialisation possible if the language is chosen as an Advanced level subject. Advanced level French demands greater fluency and more detailed knowledge of set books by both metropolitan and African authors, than does the English examination in the Baccalauréat.[2] The minute number of Gambian students who take up this option, however, means that the potential significance of this qualification in inter-state relations remains slight.

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1. See Treffgarne, C., *The Role of English and French as Languages of Communication between Anglophone and Francophone West African States*, Africa Educational Trust, London, 1975.

2. Texts rather than set-books are studied, with the English section at the Centre de Linguistique Appliquée making a deliberate effort to devise text-books for the *second degré* (advanced level) having an equal percentage of texts from American, British and African literature (in English).

The higher degree of specialisation in the foreign language is continued at university level, three or four Gambian students per annum receiving French government scholarships to follow an intensive language course, at the Centre de Langue et Civilisation Françaises of the University of Dakar, prior to continuing their degree in French language and literature at a University in France. The Gambian system of foreign language teaching thus reveals much greater freedom of choice, whereas the Senegalese strategy for teaching English ensures that all students reach a certain level of fluency through compulsory national examinations in the subject. These different approaches to teaching English and French achieve contrasting results in quality and quantity that undermine the potential significance of such foreign languages as Senegambian languages of wider communication.

The greater effort to establish a basic level of fluency in English through the Senegalese educational system relates not only to its role in promoting inter-state co-operation, but also to its function as a major world language, with particular importance in commercial, technological and economic development. The significance of this factor in English language teaching strategy has been affirmed by President Senghor: "Economiquement, la prépondérance de l'anglais dans les échanges économiques internationaux est evidente, comme en témoignent la puissance materielle des Etats-Unis d'Amerique et le vaste marche que forment les pays du Commonwealth..."[1] Nevertheless, while recognising

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1. Lecture on 'Anglophonie et Francophonie', St. Antony's College, Oxford, 26.10.73, p.14.

the contemporary role of English: "The language of Shakespeare and the Elizabethans is no longer a vehicle for conveying merely the ambivalent passions of the human heart. It also purveys scientifically established methods and data"[1]; he characteristically asserts that the cultural role of English continues to be its most important attribute: "Plus qu'une langue de banquiers et de commerçants, d'ingénieurs et d'industriels, plus qu'une langue de savants, l'anglais a été d'abord, est redevenu, une langue de centaines de millions d'hommes, qui participent à l'édification d'une civilisation nouvelle.."[2] Senghor identifies "qualités" or "vertus" in the English language, such as "sa richesse et sa souplesse" of its lexical items,[3] which he considers to be complementary to the "clarté", "l'ordre" and "l'équilibre" of the French language. But, since in Senegalese educational strategy, the teaching of languages cannot be divorced from their cultural heritage, Senghor propagates the concept of a universal civilisation to which each culture will contribute. He therefore argues in favour of "la complementarité des civilisations" and "le métissage culturel" in which both "l'Anglophonie" and "la Francophonie" can be reconciled.[4] While deploring the

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1. Address given at the University of Ife, 11.11.72, p.12.
2. Address given at the opening of the British Institute, Dakar, 20.11.70, p.9.
3. Lecture on 'Anglophonie et Francophonie', St. Antony's College, Oxford, 26.10.73, pp.19-29.
4. Idem, p.57; Speech at Ve Biennale de la Langue Francaise, Dakar, 3.12.73, p.4.

political antagonisms that rival French and British influences can instigate, Senghor defines l'Anglophonie et la Francophonie as the cultural heritage to which speakers of either 'phonie' have access: "..c'est à dire: les langues anglaise et française, avec tout ce que ces langues.... véhiculent de connaissances et d'idées, de techniques et de coutumes, surtout de modes de vivre et de penser, voire de sentir. Bref, l'important, pour nous, et pour aller aux sources, ce sont les apports culturels respectifs.." However, despite President Senghor's re-iteration that the importance attached to the study of English in the educational system relates more to "des raisons qui tiennent plus à la culture qu'à la politique ou l'économique"[3], it is evident that this cultural philosophy conveniently serves the orientation in Senegalese foreign policy towards greater regional and Pan-African co-operation.

Senegal's greater resources for the development of language teaching material have been illustrated by the preparation and experimentation of the national course Today's English[4], now being used at secondary level.

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1. Senghor refers to this as "l'esprit de Fachoda". See lecture on 'Anglophonie et Francophonie', p.3.

2. Idem, p.12.

3. Idem, p.14.

4. Today's English (NEA/Hatier) covers the 6e,5e,4e,3e levels. The English section at the Centre de Linguistique Appliquée of the University of Dakar is currently working on text books for the second cycle.

Not only did this entail extensive contrastive studies between the morphological and phonological characteristics of Wolof and English;[1] but the current edition of the sixième text book makes a greater attempt to be more African in content than the first edition of 1969. Since the Gambia does not benefit from having its own research facilities at university level, it relies on two methods: Practical French[2] and Pierre et Seydou[3], both of which relate to Francophone Africa in subject matter. Senegal has the advantage of having greater resources for improving the implementation of its language teaching strategy, as well as the President's special interest in languages, which has led to strong government support for foreign language programmes.[4] President Senghor's concern to be personally involved in the formulating of this strategy has been demonstrated by the 'Inter-ministerial meeting on English teaching' which he presided over in February, 1974, and by his approval of the establishment of a national committee for English teaching. Co-operation between Senegalese, American and British interests

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1. e.g. Grélier, S. Essai de comparison morpho-syntaxique de l'anglais, du wolof et du français (le nominal), CLAD publication No.19, 1966; Le Boulch, P., Un cas de trilinguisme: l'apprentissage de l'anglais par les elèves sénégalais. Interférences des phonétismes wolof et français, CLAD publication No.22, 1967; Grelier, S., Recherche des principales interférences dans les systèmes verbaux de l'anglais, du wolof et du français, CLAD publication No.31, 1967.

2. Pratt, S.A.M., & Bhêly-Quénum, O., Practical French, Longmans.

3. David, J., Pierre et Seydou, BELC/Hachette.

4. German, Spanish, and Russian are secondary language options in some secondary schools. Two foreign language subjects are presented for the BEPC.

in providing English courses for adults[1] have led to the introduction of national certificates in English,[2] with optional papers in the specialized professional areas where English can be useful. A similar combination of government educational priorities and foreign cultural aid is less apparent in the Gambia, where active government interest in the evening classes organised by the Alliance Française is lacking.

The Gambian Government's decision gradually to rectify the low profile given to French teaching during the colonial administration arises from recognition of the potential role of this language as a tool in international relations. French teaching appears to have been neglected because of the practical problem of finding suitably qualified teachers,[3] rather than through rival imperialist motives. Lack of knowledge of French among the Gambian civil service has been attributed to the colonial tendency to teach Latin, at the expense of French,[4] which perhaps arose because Gambian secondary schools depended largely on missionary teachers whose religious

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1. English courses for adults are organised at the Institut Sénégalo/Britannique, the Centre de Perfectionnement en Langue Anglaise, and the Centre Culturel Americain.

2. The Diplôme d'Etudes Pratiques d'Anglais and the Brevet d'Etudes Pratiques d'Anglais.

3. Personal communication, Father Cleary (Headmaster of St. Augustine's Secondary School), Banjul, 16.1.76; Personal communication, President Jawara, Banjul, 23.1.76.

4. Personal communication, President Jawara, Banjul, 23.1.76.

training enabled them to teach classical rather than foreign languages. The Gambian Government has ameliorated the situation by making French a compulsory subject for the first three years of secondary school, but this requirement is only being extended to the Junior secondary schools as qualified French teachers become available.

The close relationship between the development of this strategy and political priorities have been illustrated by the fact that President Jawara's comments on the need to encourage fluency in this foreign language have generally been made in connection with the promotion of inter-state co-operation. In the early stages of French language courses the cultural aspect is evident from the orientation towards an African rather than a European context. African literature in French, as well as French classics, is later studied for the West African School Certificate Advanced level syllabus. Nevertheless, these cultural reasons for studying French have not been mentioned in policy statements.

Despite the Gambian government's professed interest in developing French teaching, in comparison with Senegal the Gambia has more limited goals in foreign language teaching. Gambian strategy relates specifically to relations with her Francophone neighbours, of which Senegal is the most important, because of the Gambia's location, bordered on three sides by Senegal. The latter, on the other hand, takes the wider international significance of English into consideration in making a greater, more comprehensive effort to put its strategy into effect.

2.3. Classical Language Teaching Strategies

The teaching of classical languages in Senegal and the Gambia has been influenced by colonial educational strategies which incorporated a classical orientation at secondary level, but which varied according to how far secular or religious interests were allowed to impinge on the curriculum. Classical language teaching strategies related in the colonial system to the teaching of Latin and Arabic, but the current approach to the teaching of these languages has since been modified. The more centralised, secular system of education in Senegal has ensured concentration on the intellectual exercise of learning these languages, divorced from religious practices arising from their significance in Catholicism or Islam. The teaching of Latin had been important as an intellectual discipline in both colonial strategies in the same way as it was an integral part of 'grammar' school or 'lycée' education in the metropole. The approach to the teaching of Arabic developed differently, however, because of contrasting conceptions of the role of religious interests in formal education. The Christian orientation, which missions gave to their schools, established the principle of religious instruction within the formal system; but, in Senegal, the secularisation of the educational system instigated a crucial difference in educational strategy from 1903[1] onwards. During the same period, the British authorities took the expedient course of opening the

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1. See pp. 6,13.

Mohammedan School in Banjul, in which the teaching of Arabic was deliberately related to its religious context. The principle of integrating Quranic education into the formal educational system was upheld as district authority schools gradually opened in the Protectorate, and has been accentuated since Independence for socio-political reasons. On the other hand, Arabic has been taught as a classical language in Senegal through the medium of the official language with 'grammar/translation' methods. Both political and pedagogical interests have influenced the current orientation towards emphasizing the development of oral skills in this language; but, despite greater concern to relate Arabic teaching to Islamic civilisation, the language continues to be taught without reference to its traditional liturgical function.

The teaching of Latin had particular importance in colonial education in the Gambia because the Voluntary Agencies tended to concentrate on this language to the detriment of French, despite the difference between their role in the educational system as classical or foreign languages. However, whereas the Gambia has recently followed the general trend away from the teaching of Latin as an integral part of the secondary school curriculum,[1] Senegal has resolutely retained this option because of the basic training in logical thinking that this language traditionally is thought to embody. The Gambia has consequently altered its language teaching policy so that

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1. Father Cleary (Personal communication, Banjul, 16.1.76) affirmed that Latin was phased out in 1974.

the foreign language teaching, neglected in the implementation of the colonial strategy, can be safeguarded. In contrast, the Senegalese President's education as a classicist, has influenced the maintenance of an option in classical languages. He defends this decision: "Je le sais, ces idées ne sont pas 'dans le vent', je le sais, de mauvais conseillers ont pousse maints gouvernements africains à jeter, par-dessus bord, le latin et le grec, comme des vieilleries, voire des séquelles du colonialisme..".[1] The mastery of Latin grammar establishes habits facilitating the learning of French,[2] but an additional factor in Senegalese language teaching strategy relates to the close links identified by Senghor between African and Greco-Roman civilisations. At the fifth congress of the 'Vita Latina' association, he defined the study of Latin in Africa as a "rélecture négro- africaine de la littérature latine et des documents qui l'accompagnent". He denied that this was purely an intellectual exercise, since "par ses structures et sa culture, c'est-à-dire l'esprit de sa civilisation, la société africaine, meme la Noire, est très proche de la societe gréco-latine, qui met l'accent sur les Dieux et la parole, la parenté et la clientèle. Ce n'est pas par hasard si les Ethno-caracterologues ont classé, dans le même Ethnotype tous les Méditerranéens, tous les Africains et tous les Latino-

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1. Address at the Ve Biennale de la langue francaise, Fédération du Français Universel, Dakar, 3.12.75, p.10.

2. Idem, p.9.

Americains..."[1] He also values Latin civilisation as the original source of "la raison discursive", which complements "la raison intuitive, par quoi se définit la Négritude."[2] Apart from the intellectual and cultural aspects of this Latin teaching strategy, the new orientation to teaching this language, with more emphasis on its oral potentiality, has been embodied into the course Africani latine discunt , which has been developed in Senegal.[3] The international organization Academia Latinitati inter omnes gentes fovendae advocates this approach, with nostalgic reference to the international role which Latin once commanded among the educated elite of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.[4] The Senegalese government may be influenced in this strategy by their involvement in the activities of this organisation,[5] but this attempt to incorporate modern language teaching methods into the teaching of a classical language seems to have emerged in deliberate reaction to the decline in the importance of classical studies in Western educational systems.

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1. Reported in Le Soleil, 2.4.75.
2. Address to the Municipal Council of Rome, the Capitol, 30 October, 1962, reprinted in Liberté I (1964: 356).
3. See interview with Professor Chaumartin of the University of Dakar in Le Soleil, 22.10.76.
4. See article by Professor O.A.W. Dilke on the fourth international Latin congress in Dakar, Times Higher Education Supplement, 13.5.77.
5. For example, the first meeting of the international Latin congress to be held outside Europe and the Mediterranean was in Dakar in 1977 (See the above article).

The position of Arabic in both educational strategies arises from its significance as the holy language of the religion to which the majority of the population of both countries adheres.[1] Although the strictly secular orientation of the Senegalese educational system ensures concentration on the linguistic, rather than the religious aspect of teaching Arabic, the recent decision to make greater provision for this subject at secondary level has been influenced by socio-political considerations. Arabic or Latin has become a compulsory option, but, while this has been attributed to their fundamental role in stimulating logical thinking,[2] the teaching of Arabic also reflects an expedient compromise in a secular educational system which obliges parents to make supplementary arrangements for religious instruction. The Gambia presents a different approach to the problem of

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1. The Enquête demographique 1970/71 revealed 92,24% of the total estimated population of 3,620,023 as Muslim. The earlier enquiry (1960/61) recorded 89,70% of the population as being Muslim. (Direction de la statistique, Ministere des Finances et des Affaires Economiques, Dakar). For the Gambia, the World Christian Handbook (1968) cites 220,000 Muslims, but a higher proportion of the total population (84%) was estimated in the Central Office of Information Reference Pamphlet No.7: The Gambia, H.M.S.O., 1965, p.5.

2. Monsieur Doudou Ngom, then Ministre d'Etat chargé de l'Education nationale, announced in a speech broadcast on the radio and television at the beginning of the academic year 1975/1976: "Le latin et l'arabe- langues classiques par excellence-, dont le role d'éveil de l'intelligence et de l'esprit de méthode est incontestable, seront les matières de base obligatoires pour tous les élèves entrant en 6e à partir de la rentrée d'octobre 1976" (Le Soleil, 14.10,75).

reconciling a Western educational model with local priorities. Colonial strategy was carefully aimed at reassuring the Muslim population that education could be divorced from the Christian bias that characterised the early mission schools. They consequently established a combined curriculum of traditional Quranic and English-medium education. This strategy has been accentuated since Independence in order to improve enrolment, since continuing prefcrences in some areas for the local daara (Quranic school)[1], rather than the village school, have been attributed to unsatisfactory teaching of this subject.[2]

The orientation of Quranic studies in the Gambia has therefore been modified within the state system in order to enhance understanding of the Qur'ān. This has entailed greater emphasis on the study of Arabic (which corresponds to the Senegalese approach), but this has developed in the Gambia in direct antithesis to what has been called 'jangee gumbo'[3]: meaning blind chanting of Quranic verses. The Inspectors, with responsibility for

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1. See section (4.2.2.),pp.202,203.

2. The current educational policy document makes this correlation between enrolment levels and the quality of Quranic teaching (Sessional paper No.5/1976: 'Educational Policy 1976-1986',p.5, paragraph 255). The 'Report on the Teaching of Koranic/Islamic studies' by the supervising Koranic teachers: Alhaji H.S. Bojang and Alhaji Mass Kah, after their tour of inspection of primary schools in 1972 had drawn the same conclusion.

3. Idem. The phrase used by the Inspectors is derived from Jang, meaning to learn in Wolof. The Lexique Wolof-Français (CLAD publication, No.42, t.1:A-K, 1965:185) lists both gumbo g- and gumba g- for blindman.

Islamic studies in the Gambian state educational system, condemned this pedagogical practice among some of their teachers in 1972, since they were afraid that, without recourse to more modern methods of language teaching "the tendency to revert to the retrogressive and traditional approach (of the daara) ... will not be easily curbed."[1] The oral emphasis in Arabic teaching is linked to this new strategy, with the authorities in both countries adamant that their teachers must speak the language fluently in order to explain its usage. The classical language is thus being taught with greater attention to oral skill, not only for pedagogical purposes, but also with reference to the increasing use of this linguistic instrument by Arab countries in international politics.

This wider concern to promote Arabic as a world language is derived from the aspirations of the Arab countries to play an international role in both Pan-Islamic and secular spheres. The latter objective has been influenced by the dominant unifying role that Arabic has played in the modern nationalist movement in North Africa and the Middle East,[2] but the language is also potentially significant at an international level because of the common identity that Islam stresses between the Muslim community throughout the world (ummah).

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1. Alhaji H.S. Bojang and Alhaji Mass Kah, op.cit.

2. On the central role of the Arabic language in the ideology behind the modern nationalist movement, see Zurayk, Al-wa'y al'qawmi, Beirut, 1938 (cited by Nuseibeh, 1956: 69; Chejne, 1969:23) and Al Husri, Ara' fi-l-wataniyyah wa-l-qawmiyyah, Cairo, 1941 (cited by Chejne, 1969:21).

The subsequent dichotomy in Senegal and the Gambia between the primary objective of teaching the classical Arabic of the Qur'ān, and the functional role of modernised literary Arabic for achieving Pan-Arab and Pan-Islamic aspirations, represents a shift, from the liturgical orientation of Arabic teaching, to embrace the political interest in promoting this language as an international medium of communication. In this respect, the categorisation of Arabic, as a classical language, approximates more closely to that of a foreign language.

However, this integration of the religious, linguistic and political elements of Islamic studies into the Gambian state primary education system only represents a small part of the curriculum[1], in which English remains the dominant teaching medium. Senegalese primary schools teach Arabic on a voluntary basis after school hours, but, like the Gambia, this is not incorporated into the primary school leaving examination, or the common entrance examination for secondary school. In the Gambia, only Nusrat High School and the Muslim High School make provision for teaching Islamic studies and the Arabic language at secondary level, with a view to presenting candidates for the General Certificate of Education in the subject. The Senegalese strategy differs in that, apart from making a classical language, like Latin or Arabic, compulsory in secondary school, the Collège Franco-Arabe in Dakar makes a bolder attempt to achieve fluency in Arabic through using this language as the main medium of instruction. It prepares

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1. Two thirty minute periods a week.

students for taking their Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle (BEPC) in Arabic (which has evolved in Senegal to be equivalent to the BEPC taken in French), but the official language remains influential since candidates have to pass an entrance examination in both media.

While the continuing emphasis on the teaching of Latin in Senegal relates to the intellectual development of the school population, the teaching of Arabic arises in both states in response to the religious affinities of the mass population. In maintaining the principle of secular education established during the colonial period, Senegal's provision for the teaching of Arabic at primary and secondary level, and the development of an Arabic-medium school, has been instigated by political expedience. A similar motive has inspired the re-orientation of Quranic studies in the Gambia with particular attention to the quality of teaching in order to combat the competitive role of the traditional daara. The cultural element in Arabic teaching is evident in both strategies, but, whether the orientation concentrates on linguistic or religious objectives, the official language remains significant in testing progress through translation and explanation.

2.4. Senegambian Language Teaching Strategies

Current Gambian and Senegalese language teaching strategies differ most fundamentally from colonial policies in their more comprehensive plans to introduce Senegambian languages into the curriculum. This decisive reaction has cultural, political and pedagogical connotations in both

countries, in common with similar strategies in other African states.

The current orientation towards the improvement or introduction of education in the mother-tongue perhaps reflects recognition of the impossibility of realizing the ambitious hopes for universal primary education expressed at Addis Ababa in 1961.[1] Contemporary strategies are favouring basic education in a first language or local lingua franca in reaction to the difficulties of an educational policy conducted solely through a medium that is initially a foreign language.

In Senegal this decision to utilise Senegambian languages has been incorporated into the educational strategy as a part of a cultural outlook governed by principles of 'métissage' and 'complementarité'. The concept of 'la Francophonie' used by the Senegalese government to justify the retention of French as its official language, has been extended to emphasize its complementary role to other languages of national significance. One member of the government has described this as "de la co-existence et de la complementarité des langues africaines avec le français"[2], while another has stressed the absence

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1. This conference of African Ministers of Education, organised under the auspices of UNESCO and the Economic Commission for Africa, identified short-term and long-term educational priorities, which included aiming for universal primary school enrolment by 1980 (See Casely Maté, M.O., 1969).

2. Speech by Monsieur Alioune Sène, Ministre de la Culture, at the 'Semaine de la Francophonie' organised by the Association Internationale des Parlementaires de Langue Française, Dakar, March, 1975, reproduced in Le Soleil, 15.3.75.

of any contradiction between "le fait d'être champion de la francophonie et promoteur des langues nationales"[1], since they are both facets of the same humanistic orientation towards "un dialogue des cultures."[2] Senghor has interpreted the change in attitude from the cultural imperialism of colonial educational strategy as being of fundamental significance: "Par un long cheminement des esprits on est venu à penser en termes d'égalité et de complémentarité au lieu d'opposition."[3] This principle of 'complementarité', which the President uses to embrace the different cultural influences, within his educational strategy, is crucially significant in relation to the historical and cultural reasons for teaching Senegambian languages, as well as French. Senghor denies that the retention of French as official language is culturally alienating, or politically neo-colonialist, since, by identifying French as a "langue romaine, analytique et logique autant que peut l'être une langue, elle exige, par cela même, une complementarité majeure que donnent précisément nos langues nationales. De la valeur culturelle du métissage, je veux dire du multilinguisme."[4] Bilingualism, or rather multilingualism,

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1. Speech by Monsieur Ousmane Camara, Ministre de l'Enseignement Supérieur: 'Francophonie et Humanisme Négro-africain', given at the Ludwig-Maximilian Universität, Munich, 15.1.76.

2. Idem.

3. Address given at the Ve Biennale de la Langue Française, Fédération du Français Universel, Dakar, 3.12.73, p.5.

4. 'Réponses aux problèmes prioritaires économiques, sociaux et culturels', 8e Congrès de l'UPS, Dakar, 16-19.12.72.

has been frequently cited as one of the major educational objectives of Senegalese language teaching strategy,[1] but this will in future be initiated through a familiar first or second language, rather than through immediate exposure to a foreign language. A enegambian language should be the essential medium at the beginning of the formal educational system "comme c'est la langue natale qui conserve le plus fidèlement l'héritage culturel d'un peuple, les valeurs essentielles de sa civilisation."[2] The importance of this option to integrate Senegambian languages into the educational strategy is illustrated by their conception of education as "enracinement dans la terre d'origine; avant d'être ouverture aux influences fécondantes de l'étranger, elle est, par essence, fermeture sur soi et absorption de tous les sucs du terroir."[3]

Although Senghor had defined "le choix de la langue d'enseignement" as "le noeud du problème culturel" for newly independent developing countries, the Senegalese government, like the Gambian government, did not officially adopt the

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1. e.g. Lecture on 'Le Problème Culturel en A.O.F.' given to the Foyer France-Senégal, Chambre de Commerce, Dakar, 10.9.37, reprinted in Liberté I (1964:pp.11-21); article published in Afrique Nouvelle, 3 January, 1958, reprinted in Liberté I (1964:pp.228-231); address given to the Concours Général 1975, Le Soleil, 11.7.75.

2. Décret no.71-566 du 21 mai 1971 relatif à la transcription des langues nationales, Exposé des motifs, Government Printer, Rufisque, 1972, p.9.

3. Idem.

4. Article 'Le problème des langues vernaculaires, ou le bilinguisme comme solution, Afrique Nouvelle, 3.1.58, reprinted in Liberté I (1964:228).

option to use Senegambian languages as an integral part of their educational system until the second decade after independence. Their similar intentions to use local languages as media of instruction at the beginning of primary school is currently necessitating a major re-orientation of the curriculum. In 1971, the Senegalese government identified six languages; Wolof, Serer, Fula, Jola, Mandinka and Soninke, based on their numerical importance as first languages. It also committed itself to teaching basic literacy in the dominant "langue d'arrondissement",[1] or lingua franca, spoken as a first or second language by the majority of the neighbourhood in which each school is situated. The Gambian government has used the same criterion for choosing dominant lingue franche as teaching media "because we believe every Gambian child has a working knowledge of one or other of these languages before securing admission to Primary One."[2] The three Gambian languages that have been identified in the current educational plan (1976-1986) are Wolof, Mandinka and Fula,[3] but a full-scale launching of a national programme for the teaching of local languages in all schools is not envisaged before 1978/79. Similar problems of standardising orthographies, collecting material for text-books, writing

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1. See Décret No.71-566 du 21 mai 1971 relatif à la transcription des langues nationales, Exposé des Motifs, Government Printer, Rufisque, April, 1972, p.11-12.

2. Sessional paper No.5/1976: 'Educational Policy 1976-1986', p.13, paragraph 5.2.5.

3. Idem, paragraph 5.2.4.

new syllabi and experimenting in schools, exist in both countries, with a common approach possible now that the two governments have opted for the same inter-relationship between Senegambian languages and the official language in their educational systems.

In Senegambian language teaching strategies, allowance has been made for the diverse ethno-linguistic heritage of the majority of the population by advocating a choice between several media of instruction, rather than promoting a particular local language. President Senghor has defended this option: "Je réagis contre l'uniformisation, parce que beaucoup voudraient que l'on choisit le wolof comme langue unique de tout le Sénegal. Je m'y suis opposé encore que j'admire la richesse du wolof. Toutes les langues doivent être vécues et parlées."[1]

The political expedience behind this language teaching strategy, in providing an element of choice between media of instruction, and in maintaining a balance between local languages and the official language, was illustrated by the President's speech at the Eighth Congress of the Union Progressiste Sénégalaise (UPS) in December, 1972. He emphasized that, although each pupil would learn to read and write in his own language, this would not entail abandoning French as the target language: "C'est qu'il nous faut avoir le sens du réel et éviter la démagogie, qui ne peut nous mèner qu'à l'impuissance et à la misère nationales.." Referring to the close link between official language policy

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1. Interview conducted by Lilyan Kestleloot, Le Soleil, 6.3.74.

and national unity, the President continued "Ceux qui prônent le remplacement du français 'comme language officielle d'enseignement' sont, si nous voulons être gentils, des romantiques irresponsibles.. Par quelle langue, si nous ne voulons pas briser l'unanimité nationale?"[1]

Whereas the Gambian government did not make any official statement about the teaching of Senegambian languages until their current educational policy statement (1976)[2], the Senegalese government have been defensive about the long period since 1971 in which they have stated their intentions without putting even a pilot project at primary level into effect. Decrees relating to Wolof and Serer have been ratified,[3] while the decree concerning Fula is nearing completion, the national commissions for each language having sat consecutively, rather than concurrently. The time needed for their deliberations has thus hampered experiments in Senegambian language usage at primary level, in adult literacy programmes[4] and on undergraduate courses

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1. Réponses aux problèmes prioritaires économiques, sociaux et culturels, 8e Congrès de l'UPS, Dakar, 16-19 December, 1972

2. House of Representatives, Sessional Paper No.5/1976: 'Educational Policy 1976-1986', Government Printer, Banjul, 1976.

3. Décret No.75-1026 du 10 octobre relatif à l'orthographe et à la séparation des mots en wolof & Décret No.75-1025 du 10 octobre 1975 relatif à l'orthographe et à la séparation des mots en serer, both published in Le Soleil (supplement du 6.12.75).

4. Since the 'Note No.3 du 26 janvier 1971 de Monsieur le Premier Ministre' (laying down conditions for literacy programmes in Senegalese national languages), a national strategy has been determined with functional literacy projects working in 1976 in Wolof, Fula, Serer, Mandinka and Jola Foñi (See Secrétariat d'Etat à la Promotion Humaine auprès du ministre d'Etat chargé de l'Education nationale, Direction de l'Alphabétisation, 'Bilan - Perspectives et Programmes de l'Alphabétisation au Sénégal', December, 1976).

in linguistics at the University of Dakar.[1] The five-year gap between the decree establishing the transcription of national languages[2] and the experimental stage of using Wolof in selected primary schools in October, 1977, can be attributed to their methodical approach to the development of all six languages: "Il s'agit de fournir à nos langues nationales les moyens d'être des langues modernes, susceptibles de véhiculer les sciences et les techniques, sinon de leur donner le statut de langues internationales. Ce n'est pas par des acrobaties linguistiques sur la langue qu'on y parviendra. De longues années seront encore nécessaires. Il faut aller lentement, en s'entourant de toutes garanties scientifiques, et sans jamais oublier que c'est, finalement, le peuple qui fait la langue...".[3] Cautious option is considered to be in the long term national interest: "Mais le gouvernement n'a pas le droit de se dépêcher. Il ne participe pas à un concours de démagogie. Il y a certains Etats Africains où l'on a proclame: 'Le français, c'est fini. Maintenant vivent les langues nationales... Nous preferons, nous gouvernement sénégalais, parler moins et agir plus efficacement..'[4]

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1. The problem of finding qualified language teachers has made provision at the University intermittent. For example, no courses in Senegalese national languages were offered in 1973/4, but in 1976/77 courses in Wolof and Fula exist as an option for DUEL I & II students in the Faculte des Lettres.

2. Décret No.71-566 du 21 mai 1971, completed by le Décret No.72-702 du 16 juin 1971.

3. Address by President Senghor to the Concours Général 1975 reported in Le Soleil, 11.7.75.

4. Interview conducted by Lilyan Kestleloot, Le Soleil, 6.3.74.

The Senegalese government prefers to take the short-term risk of unpopularity in their conviction that the slow process of the development of Senegambian languages for teaching purposes will eventually be more effectively integrated into the educational system.

The major reason for introducing Senegambian languages into the Senegalese educational strategy has been described by President Senghor: "la condition sine qua non de toute Renaissance Négro-africaine, est le retour aux sources, à nos vertus traditionnelles, et que la langue vernaculaire conserve celles-ci plus que tout autre phenomène de civilisation."[1] The logical implication that African languages should be taught as a result of this "retour aux sources"[2] is an essential aspect of the philosophy of négritude,[3] of which Senghor has been a leading exponent since the re-assertion of Black African values and culture

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1. 'Réponses de Monsieur le Président de la République aux problèmes prioritaires économiques, sociaux et culturels', 8e congrès de l'UPS, Dakar, 16-19 December 1972, p.33.

2. See, for example, speech given to the Ve Biennale de la langue française, Fédération du Français Universel, Dakar, 3.12.73, p.5.

3. See, for example, article in Esprit, November, 1962, reprinted in Liberté I (1964:358).

in Paris during the 1930's.[1] He collaborated with West Indian intellectuals, such as Léon Damas and Aimé Césaire, in reaction to the assimilative and acculturative orientation of French colonial policy that had denigrated their African cultural heritage. In reaction to the same policy: "la politique d'assimilation, qui visait à eliminer les langues africaines et asiatiques, plus exactement, à les confiner aux cuisines et aux champs",[2] Senghor has pointed out how opinions about the needs to teach Senegambian languages, as well as French, that were considered to be 'revolutionary' when he first expressed them in 1937, have now become commonplace.[3] The expansion of 'la Francophonie'

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1. For a discussion of Senghor's contribution to the evolution of this historical phenomenon, see Irele, A., 'Négritude or Black cultural nationalism?', Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.3, No.3, 1965, pp.321-348, and 'Négritude - Literature and Ideology', ibid., No.4, 1965, pp.499-526; Hymans, J.L., Léopold Sédar Senghor: an intellectual biography, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1971, espec. pp.137-139. See also Kesteloot, L., Les écrivains noirs de langue française: naissance d'une littérature, Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1963, pp.110-114; Mphahlele,E., The African Image, Faber & Faber, London, 1962, rev.ed. 1974, pp.85-87; Jahn, J., A History of Neo-African literature, 1966, English translation Faber & Faber, London, 1968, pp.251-252. On the controversy evoked by ambiguous usage of the term négritude, and hence the danger that it can be said to represent an élitist intellectual reaction rather than a truly Black nationalist ideology, see Mphahlele, E., idem, Chapter 4: Negritude Revisited, pp.79-95; Towa, M, Léopold Sédar Senghor: negritude ou servitude?, Editions CLÉ, Yaoundé, 1971, pp.99-115; Adotevi,S., Négritude et Negrilogues, Union Générale d'Editions, Paris, 1972, pp.113-122 .
2. Speech delivered to the Ve Biennale de la Langue Française, Fédération du Français Universel, Dakar, 3.12.73, p.5.
3. Idem; See also 'Le Problème des Langues Vernaculaires, ou le Bilinguisme comme solution', Afrique Nouvelle, 3.1.58, reprinted in Liberté I (1964: 228).

beyond the narrow confines of French cultural imperialism to a more egalitarian consideration of the traditional heritage of countries, linked through using the French language in government and education, can thus be reconciled with the concept of 'négritude'. The Minister of Culture, Monsieur Alioune Sene, could therefore affirm in a debate, organised by the Association Internationale des Parlementaires de Langue Française, that "Il n'y pas antinomie entre Francophonie et negritude",[1] especially as exponents of the latter had used the French language ("la langue du dominateur et le pouvoir colonial"), both for coining the name of the movement and for expressing its philosophy. The Minister explained that negritude had developed in reaction against "une politique d'assimilation qui niait à l'Afrique toute authenticité culturelle. Pour eux, il s'agissait de révéler au monde les valeurs de civilisation des nègres et de les assumer en se reconnaissant comme authentiquement nègres. Césaire a donc crée le mot 'négritude'. Il l'a créé, explique Senghor, selon les règles les plus orthodoxes du français..."[1] The négritude movement did not develop in antithesis to French culture per se, but arose in conscious reaction at the proclaiming

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1. Semaine de la Francophonie organised by AIPLF, Dakar, 11-14 March, 1975, reported in Le Soleil, 14.3.75.

of one culture to the detriment of another.[1] The integration of Senegambian languages into the educational system is thus designed to rectify the cultural imbalance that has persisted from colonial educational policy.

The Gambian government has not undergone a similar reaction to the imperialist orientation of colonial cultural strategy, but it has shown the same concern to reconcile traditional cultural values with the positive aspects of their colonial legacy. President Jawara has described this difficulty: "La question qui se pose est de savoir concilier notre héritage colonial et historique, d'une part, et la traditionnelle communauté de sentiments, de valeurs et de cultures, d'autrepart."[2] The decision to introduce a comprehensive programme of teaching through the medium of three Senegambian languages relates to a desire to make greater provision for their traditional cultural heritage, but the pedagogical reasons for this dynamic re-orientation of their educational strategy have been particularly emphasized. In the current Educational

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1. Abiola Irele (1965) has shown how the philosophy of négritude began as a "reaction against Western cultural domination, which was concomitant with political domination...". What therefore had begun as an emotional intellectual response to living in the metropole, has since evolved in the Senegalese context to encompass Senghor's political and social ideology. In this study the concept of négritude is merely being considered in so far as it represented a reaction against French colonial policies in its re-affirmation of African cultural values and traditions, without attempting to ascertain its relevance to African nationalism at a continental level, or its world-wide significance as the amalgam of Black values and consciousness.

2. Speech made by President Jawara during his state visit to Senegal, reported in Le Soleil, 27.4.73.

Plan, language is identified as the central core of the curriculum: "The more a child is able to use and understand language, the better it is able to understand its environment and to develop intellectually and socially. An educational system that makes no provision for the child to develop facility and skill in the use of its mother tongue imposes a handicap upon the child that is bound to affect its entire physical and mental development."[1] Literacy in one of the three main Gambian languages (Mandinka, Fula or Wolof), as well as English, is therefore identified as one of the major objectives of primary education. While recognising the tendency for "some teachers to use the child's mother tongue to give simple instructions to the child because, for most of them, this is the only language they can understand",[2] the proposal to teach through the medium of local languages as official government policy arises from a desire "to normalise the situation with a view to according our local languages the recognition they deserve."[3] The Gambian government is thus determined to establish its Senegambian cultural tradition as an integral part of their educational system. Instruction through the medium of one of these three Senegambian languages is expected to be implemented for the

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1. House of Representatives, Sessional paper No.5/1976: 'Educational policy 1976-1986', Government printer, Banjul, p.13, paragraph 5.2.1.

2. Idem, p.13.

3. Idem, p.13, paragraph 5.2.3.

first time on a national scale in 1978. The government's conviction that the use of local languages will facilitate the learning process is pragmatic and realistic, but, like Senegal, the official language will retain its prominence as the main target language of its educational strategy.

Conclusion

Senegalese and Gambian language teaching strategies are similar in orientation, but differ in their conception and implementation. Linguistic issues appear to be a greater concern of the Senegalese government, partly because of the "tête grammairienne" and linguistic training of the head of state, and partly because of the intellectual tendency, in the French Cartesian tradition, to provide extensive theoretical justification for policy orientation. In contrast, the Gambia appears to be reticent on educational and cultural matters, but the infrequent references to language teaching in official speeches could be attributed to the fact that the current re-orientation of strategy does not represent such a decisive change from a situation in which the metropolitan language was never the exclusive teaching medium.

In the Gambia a more pragmatic assessment of the significance of the official language in political and economic development is evident, since its officials have not indulged in emphasizing the cultural significance of the colonial educational legacy to the same extent as in Senegal. The prestige of English in British colonial

educational strategy may have been derived more from "the material and status advantages, which a knowledge of it conferred" (Spencer, 1971:21) than from the cultural or humanistic values stressed by Frenchmen as intrinsic to the teaching of their language. Nevertheless, this comparison should not be interpreted too absolutely, since each of these variables affects the formulation of both Senegalese and Gambian policies.

The Senegalese government cites cultural motives to justify the inclusion of each language in its educational strategy, but it would be an over-simplification to follow Prator's application (1968:474) of Lambert's antithesis (1965) between "instrumental" and "integrative" aspirations in language learning to the official language teaching situation in Anglophone and Francophone states, like Senegal and the Gambia. The 'integrative' interpretation cannot be adopted for the Senegalese situation, since it ignores the decisive reaction, embodied by the philosophy of Negritude, against the logical extension of a deliberately acculturative official language teaching strategy. This interpretation also disregards the combined influence of political, economic, social and pedagogic factors on the orientation of this 'cultural' variable. Furthermore, taking Lambert's alternative approach, Gambian official language teaching strategy cannot be categorised merely on the basis of its 'functional' orientation. Although, as in Senegal, the learning of the official language can be 'instrumental' for professional and social advancement, these aspirations do not prevent the language from being taught with reference to the literary tradition with which

it has been associated. The teaching of each official language cannot be completely divorced from the intellectual and social context in which it has evolved, because the development of the formal educational infrastructure arises from the same cultural heritage. An absolutely utilitarian approach can only be achieved in countries having no historical or educational ties with the country from which the official language originates. The logical extreme of an 'instrumental' strategy would be what Steiner (1975:469) has called the "international English" in which "the externals of English are being acquired by speakers wholly alien to the historical fabric, to the inventory of felt moral, cultural existence embedded in the language." However, this would be easier to develop where the foreign language is only a subject on the curriculum, rather than in a situation where the choice of target language has been derived from a historical colonial relationship.

It is integral to Senegalese language teaching strategies that, although the target language cannot be completely divorced from its culture, the colonial strategy towards assimilation to French culture and civilisation has been rejected in favour of a more balanced equilibrium between the different languages and cultures that constitute educational policy. Both the situation of potential conflict between the metropolitan language and culture and traditional ethno-linguistic ties, and the subsequent stage of anomie[1]

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1. Lambert, W.E. (1963:39) and Fishman, J.A.(1966:130) have identified this phenomenon that can develop when language loyalties towards a first language become eroded by contact with a foreign language and culture. The painful intellectual conflict that this can instigate has been described by the Senegalese writer Cheikh Hamidou Kane in L'Aventure Ambiguë, Editions Julliard, Paris (1961).

or rootlessness, in which the language learner feels alienated from both cultures, are thwarted by Senegal's current language teaching strategies. President Senghor limits the acculturative aspect of language learning to "assimiler, non être assimilés",[1] believing that this "dialogue des cultures" should be a complementary, two-way process to which the teaching of Senegambian languages will make a decisive contribution.

It is evident from Senegalese adherence to the concept of 'la Francophonie' in international politics that, while respecting the complex cultural and multilingual background of individual Francophone states, the learning of French as the official language of government is supposed to entail initiation into certain conventions common to all French speakers, facilitating greater empathy and understanding throughout the Francophone world. The assumption that the French language embraces this intrinsic, unifying function has political advantages which the current ministerial directives for the teaching of French at elementary level in France recognise. Language is defined as "autre chose qu'une collection de langages individuels et qu'elle exige l'assimilation d'un fonds commun de traditions et de conventions."[2] Since these instructions imply that the

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1. See La Communauté imperiale française, Editions Alsatia, 1945, reprinted in Liberté I (1964:pp.39-69).

2. Ministère de l'Education Nationale, 'Instructions relatives à l'enseignement du français à l'école élémentaire' by Fontanet, J., B.O.E.N., No.46, Paris, 1972, quoted by Marks, C.T., 'Policy and Attitudes towards the teaching of the Standard Dialect: Great Britain, France, West Germany', Comparative Education, Vol.12, No.3, October 1976, p.215.

literary model of French embodies these common traditions, it is essential to consolidate its continuing dominance as the target language of the educational system. Although the Gambian strategy does not embrace such purist structural, lexical and phonological objectives, it follows the mother-tongue standard for structural and lexical items, in order to uphold the same political, professional and economic aspirations that influence Senegalese strategy.

The formal 'mandarin' connotations of the official language teaching model, as used in Senegal, is leading to a conflict similar to that identified in Anglophone West Africa between "local, naturalised forms" and the "external, elitist variety of the language" (Spencer, J., 1971:22). Whereas the re-orientation of educational policy to obviate the cultural implications of both British and French colonial strategies has been a necessary corollary of political independence, acceptance of the co-existence of local registers or varieties of the official language has been less forthcoming. In this respect, metropolitan attitudes to language, and their consequent approach to language teaching,are still influential. The laissez-faire strategy of the British colonial government has resulted in greater tolerance, in a country like the Gambia, towards the presence of a Creole language (Aku), as the mother tongue for one sector of the population, as well as being a Pidgin lingua franca in Banjul. The controversies in Anglophone states, such as Nigeria and Ghana, over the question of national standards and the function of varieties of the official language, apart from the 'bookish' metropolitan register, are likely to influence

the Gambia towards a more flexible strategy than Senegal. The latter continues to advocate a learning situation in which the use of cognitive faculties are stressed, rather than affective, spontaneous linguistic development.[1] Senegambian language teaching are thus evolving from different conceptions about the methodology of target language teaching. However, despite the superficial impression that one Government favours cultural considerations, while the other pursues utilitarian priorities, neither follows this orientation to the extreme. Each linguistic option had a different role in the overall language policy. It could be the official language of government, and hence the target language of the educational system. It could alternatively be the main foreign language taught as a subject on the curriculum, essentially because of its international currency. The classical language option could be governed by the strong socio-cultural identification of the population with Islam. The need to make greater provision for the socio-cultural background of the mass population could also make education through

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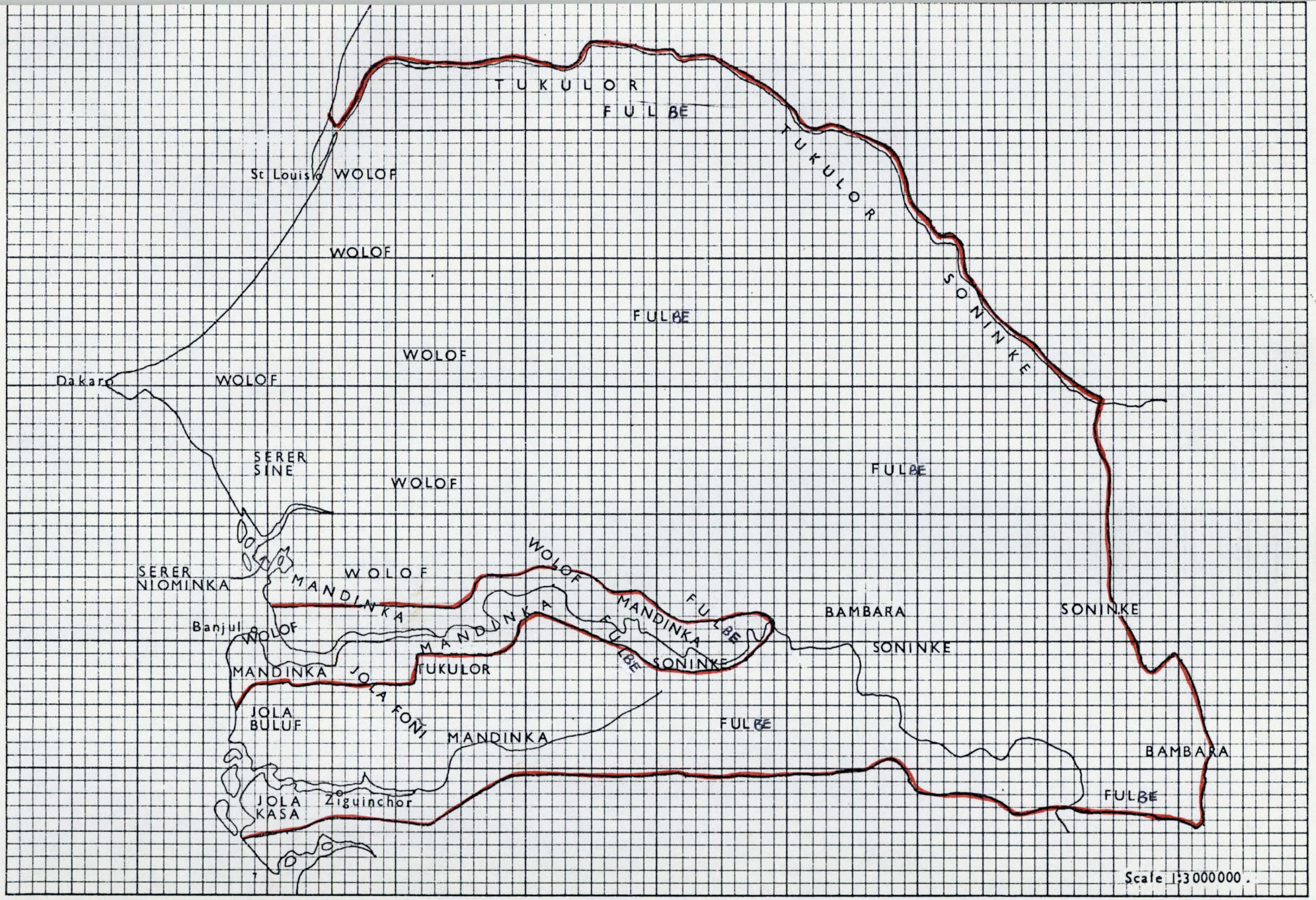
1. Cf. the controversy over these contrasting approaches to the teaching of English and French as first languages, see Mark, C.T., op.cit., 1976, and Canham, G.W. (Ed.), Mother Tongue Teaching, UNESCO Institute for Education, Hamburg, 1972. This latter publication arises out of an international meeting on 'Problems related to teaching the mother tongue' (Hamburg, 8-12 December, 1969) in which the priority given to the intellect in the teaching of Romance languages, as opposed to the teaching of English through a more affective, intuitive approach, emerged clearly. Fears were expressed by a delegate from France about the dangers of a pidgin French developing, without this prescriptive, cognitive approach in the first language context (p.70).

the medium of a first or second Senegambian language into a linguistic priority, thus radically altering the colonial imbalance between home languages and the language of government. Taking these differing functions of each type of language into account, it has been shown that Senegalese and Gambian languages teaching strategies are formulated according to a fluid combination of political, social, economic, pedagogic and cultural factors.

CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE USAGE



Map A - To show the distribution of the main ethnic groups considered in this study in relation to Senegalo-Gambian contact.

CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE USAGE

3. Introduction

3.1. Background to the main ethnic groups involved in Senegalo-Gambian contact

This short section deals with the background to the main ethno-linguistic groups that have been considered in this study. A brief introduction to the ethnic map (A) is necessary in order to explain the context in which certain ethnic groups have become significant through migratory patterns affecting Senegal and the Gambia. Such mobility has resulted in certain languages functioning as lingue franche[1] or languages of wider communication[2] for other ethnic groups in the region. Since this study concentrates essentially on language usage in the context

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1. Lingua franca: a language which may be spoken as a first language by some members of the speech community, but which also enjoys particular significance as a second language for the majority of people from other ethnic backgrounds (cf. Greenberg, J.H., 'Urbanism, Migration and Language,' 1969, republished in Language, Culture and Communication, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1971, p.200).

2. Language of Wider Communication (LWC): what Joshua Fishman calls a 'language of wider communication' can be a 'national' or an 'official' language. The former term applies to "past, present or hoped for social-cultural authenticity in the ethnic realm", while the latter is associated with "current political-operational needs" (See Fishman, J.A., 'National Languages and Languages of Wider Communication' in Language Use and Social Change, OUP/IAI, London, 1971, p.32). The term 'language of wider communication' is used in this study to denote languages with widespread currency arising from contact between different speech communities. Such languages may also serve as lingue franche in both or either of the speech communities in question.

of relations between Senegal and the Gambia, discussion will be devoted only to those groups of people whose language serves as a first or second language for the majority of the inhabitants of each speech community.[1]

The respective sociolinguistic studies have been divided according to ethnic background or to the professional work domain of the informants. The first arrangement is intended to show how certain major groups, like the Manding or Fulbe may augment their language repertoires[2] on migrating to a new speech community, reflecting the significance of a local language of wider communication. On the other hand, a wide range of informants from different ethno-linguistic backgrounds may illustrate certain common patterns of language usage in important areas of professional contact, like diplomatic interchange between representatives of each state, or commerce involving traders on both sides of the border. Whether ethnic or professional factors are used for establishing the orientation of each sample, the studies have been similarly designed to demonstrate which languages function as languages of wider communication in Senegalo-

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1. Speech community: see Bloomfield, Language, 1933 (revised edition, Henry Holt, New York, 1951, p.42) for this definition of linguistic distribution within a social or geographical space.

2. Language repertoire: refers to the totality of languages used by an individual informant. Cf. 'verbal repertoire' (Gumperz, 1964; republished in Language in Social Groups, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1971, p.152): "the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed within the community in the course of socially significant interaction".

Gambian relations, paying particular attention to the contrasting (or complementary) roles of foreign and indigenous languages. This analysis of language repertoires draws attention to the increasing range of language choice arising from professional and social mobility. The historical and cultural backgrounds to the ethnic mother tongues of the major groups involved in Senegalo-Gambian contact thus need some explanation before proceeding to the sociolinguistic case studies of this complex multilingual environment.

The following descriptions clarify the terminology adopted in the sociolinguistic studies in order to avoid the confusion which has often arisen over the nomenclature of Senegambian ethnic groups and their mother tongues.

3.1.1. The Manding

The Manding people in the Gambia and Casamance trace their origins to Manding, the traditional heartland of the ancient kingdom of Mali, situated in the Upper Niger region on the borders of contemporary Southern Mali and Guinea. The Manding expansion westwards is generally attributed to a series of both peaceful migrations and military conquests associated with the rise of the Mali empire during the thirteenth century. Sékéné-Mody Cissoko (1972) cited the 'tilibo' (sunrise) versus 'tilijigi' (sunset) antithesis to characterise this traditional movement westwards. He has, in fact, related the direction of this migratory pattern to a tradition existing before the military initiatives, taken by Sundiata Keita and Tiramakhan

Traore, in their consolidation of the Manding hegemony in West Africa.[1] Apart from the oral evidence for this series of migratory patterns, collected by Cissoko and Sambou in the Gambia in 1969[2], Sieur de la Courbe (re-ed. 1913:191) and Mungo Park (re-ed. 1954:13) recorded similar assertions about the origins of the Senegambian Mandinka in 1685 and 1795, respectively.

The essential unity of the Manding language and culture was later obscured by the disintegration of the Mali empire, the commercial expansion of the Dyula traders, and the division of the West Africa region into different colonial territories. Nevertheless, the intrinsic pride of the Manding people in their glorious past has nurtured a sufficiently strong sense of cultural identity to overcome such vicissitudes (Dalby, 1971). Yves Person referred at the Manding Conference (London, 1972) to the Manding "habitudes de pensée pan-africaines qui transcendent les frontières étroites des nouveaux Etats..."[3], while its linguistic potential as a "facteur d'unification" in West Africa (Pathé Diagne, 1972)[4] was underlined at the

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1. Cissoko, S.M., 'Introduction à l'histoire des Mandingues de l'Ouest:l'empire de Kabou (XVe - XIXe siècle)', paper presented to the Manding Conference, SOAS, London, 1972.
2. Cissoko, S.M. and Sambou,K. (Eds.), Recueil des Traditions Orales des Mandingues de Gambie et de Casamance, Centre Regional de Documentation pour la Tradition Orale, Niamey, 1974.
3. Person, Y., 'Les Manding dans l'Histoire', paper presented to the Manding Conference, SOAS, London, 1972.
4. Diagne, P., 'La Mandinguophonie nord-soudanienne comme facteur d'unification ouest-africaine', paper presented to the Manding Conference, SOAS, London, 1972.

same meeting. Maninka, the variety of the Manding language spoken in the Manding heartland, provides some centralising unity, since this is perceived by the Manding people to be the "langue kangbè", or clear language that can be most easily understood by speakers of different varieties of the language across the West Africa region.[1] Delafosse (1929:22) described "Kangbè (langue blanche, langue claire, langue facile)", as a kind of "mandingue commun", but Dalby (1971:2) has pointed out that the Manding themselves do not employ a universal generic term for their common ethno-linguistic affinities. While carefully avoiding Delafosse's (1929) pejorative use of the term "dialècte"[2] in his distinction between Bambara, Dyula and Malinke, Dalby (1971, 1972) has identified the same three main regional and/or ethnic forms of the language. He favours the usage of the generic term 'Manding' (as used by the French for the name of the Manding heartland) to include the Mandinka/Maninka or Malinke, the Bambara or Bamana, the Dyula and the Vai, as well as smaller ethnic groupings. Although he tends to use the same term to denote the unity embodied by the first language of these ethnic groups, he (1969) has also attributed to Souleymane Kanté, a Guinean

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1. The Manding Conference (London, 1972) drew attention to the regional influence of Manding civilisation. It was emphasized that major groups of speakers of related forms of the language can be found in Senegal, the Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, the Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Sierra Leone and the Upper Volta.

2. See Calvet, L-J. (1974:52).

grammarian, the coinage of the word N'ko as a cover term for the variety of Manding speech forms. However, it is evident from Niane's transcription of the oral account of the apogee of the Mali empire, during the reign of Sundiata, that "N'ko" (meaning 'I say' in Mandinka) has traditionally embodied some repute as a way of differentiating speakers of varieties of the Manding language from those of other linguistic groupings.[1]

The role of the Manding in the commercial development of the region, and as significant agents in the diffusion of Islam, has contributed to the spread of their language as a major West African language of wider communication. This characteristic commercial role of the Manding tends to be associated with the Dyula, in particular, but this generic term has also been used to denote any itinerant trader, irrespective of ethnic origin (from the basic meaning of the term dyula in Manding). The "Mandingoes" functioned as middlemen in trade with the interior at the posts established by European merchants on the rivers Gambia, Casamance, Cacheu and Geba from the fifteenth century onwards. The development of such commerce enhanced the position of local leaders, like the Mansa Kaabu since the major trade routes from the interior passed through his territory (Cissoko, 1972:10). In the Gambia the predominance of the Manding in the local population was noted by Mungo Park in 1795 (re-ed. 1954:13), with Francis Moore (1738:38) identifying their language "as the most general" because its wide currency ensured its usage in commerce.

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1. See Niane, D.T., Soundjata, ou l'épopée mandingue, Présence Africaine, Paris, 1960, p.102, fn.2.

Apart from their trading involvement, the Manding were also identified with the propagation of Islam in Senegambia. This reputation for religious learning and education has been noted by several writers. For example, Sieur de la Courbe (re-ed.1913:191) observed that they followed "la loy mahometane, dans laquelle ils sont plus scavans que les peuples du Cap Verd, ayant des ecolles publiques, ou ils apprennent a lire en Arabe..." (sic). Durand (1802:69) similarly commented on their learning, with reference to the kingdom of Barra: "Le roi et les seigneurs sont Mandingues; ils sont les seuls instruits de l'Etat; ils savent tous, ou presque tous, lire et ecrire..." The religious leadership and commercial initiatives taken by the Manding in the Casamance, as well as the Gambia, enhanced their social prestige. Their role as educators has also been significant. From their function as marabouts they developed a script using the Arabic alphabet, which is noted as early as 1685 in Sieur de la Courbe's writings (re-ed.1913:191): "Il n'y en a guerre entre eux qui ne sachent escrire et les lettres arabesques leur servent aussy a escrire leur langue naturelle..." (sic). The use of 'N'ko' to identify speakers of different varieties of the Manding language has already been referred to, but Fode Suleiman (a Wahhabi scholar living in Kankan, Guinea, since 1958) has been cited by Lansine Kaba (1976:pp.418,419) for developing an 'Nko' system of writing. According to the same source, this transcription for the Manding language has served to elevate "the level of literacy and religious awareness among the young traders, many of whom now do their

correspondence in Nko."

Despite the terminological confusion surrounding the Manding, which has tended to give a misleading impression of ethno-linguistic fragmentation, the adoption by the Manding Conference of the generic term 'Manding' has helped to draw attention to the strong traditions of cultural identity and linguistic unity that characterise these people. Although in Senegal the use of the term 'Malinke' has been favoured, in this study the term 'Mandinka' (which is more often used in the Gambia) will be used, since the study focussing on this ethnic group concerns migrants from this country.[1]

3.1.2. The Soninke

The origins of the Soninke have given rise to confusion because of different interpretations of their history and the etymology of their nomenclature. They are sometimes confused with the Dyula[2], who also belong to the Mande family, and have a similar linguistic, commercial and religious background; but the Manding term 'dyula' denotes also any hawker or pedlar, irrespective of ethnic origin. The term Serahuli has come to be synonymous with the generic classification Soninke in both Senegal and the Gambia, and is now in more common usage

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1. See Section (5.1.5.).

2. See, for example, Marty, P. (1913, vol.1:367).

in the Gambia than any other nomenclature.

One reason for the confusion in terminology arises because the derogatory usage of the word 'Sonakee', that Mungo Park (re-ed. 1954:25) noted in 1795 for any heavy drinking non-Muslim, was prevalent throughout the nineteenth century.[1] European travellers in the region may thus have preferred to use the term Serahuli when commenting on their particular Islamic piety and learning (Golberry, 1802:369; Raffenel, 1846:369; Soleillet, 1887:75), and their significant contribution to the propagation of Islam in West Africa.

Another reason for the variation in terminology can be attributed to other ethnic groups. Delafosse (1912: 123) distinguishes between the term Sébé (sing. Tiedo) applied to the Soninke by the Fulbe,[2] and the term Sarakhoullé or Serewoullé, used by the Wolof, which Raffenel (1856:170) had also discovered to be "un nom de convention donné par le Yoloffs de Saint-Louis, et que leur vrai nom, celui qu'ils se donnent entre eux, le nom enfin de leurs legendes, est Soninkie."

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1. Quinn (1972:53), in relating the terms marabout and soninke to the spread of Islam, claims that by the mid-nineteenth century they had become "the most important expressions of sociopolitical classifications in the Senegambia." Klein (1968:69), however, considers that the opposition between marabout/tyeddo factions was more frequently identified in Senegal, whereas marabout /soninke distinction was more often used in the Gambia. While 'tyeddo', being synonymous to 'soninke', can also mean pagan, Klein uses both terms to refer to the soldiers of the traditional rulers of the Serer and Wolof states, in opposition to the supporters of the Marabout-led factions. He derives Soninke from so-ni (M.:libation or sacrifice), meaning one who gives libations, thus being Muslim in name only.
2. Wane (1969:39) points out that any dark-skinned stranger, speaking another language, is called Ceddo by the Fula, so that the term can be applied to the Wolof and Serer as well as the Soninke. Since the Sebbe (sing. Ceddo) are also a caste in Tukulor social stratification, he goes on to

While Soninke emerges as the generic term used by these people themselves (Delafosse, 1913:123; Lavergne de Tressan, 1953:170; Bathily, 1969:50; Pollet and Winter, 1971:1), Serahuli appears to be the name given to the Soninke by strangers. This would substantiate the claim that 'Serahuli' refers to their light skin colour (Binger, 1892, Vol.2:382), which Lavergne de Tressan (1953:171) translates as 'l'homme à peau rouge'.[1]

Controversies over the putative relationship of the Soninke with the Manding, Songhay and Berber peoples have been complicated by their migratory habits, and by the various names that such movement has inspired among other ethnic groups. Theories about the etymological origins of their nomenclature have confused the issue, with Binger (1892:384) believing that 'Sonni-nke' refers to the followers of Sonni, while Delafosse (1912:pp.122,123) considers that Binger had wrongly emphasised the nominal 'Sonni', followed by the suffix 'ke', instead of deriving it from 'Assouanik' (sing. 'Souanki').[2] However, there is at least some agreement that the Soninke were the original inhabitants of Wagudu, once part of the Ghana empire. Binger (1886:382, fn.2) and Pollet and Winter (1971:19) cite Barth for the identification of the 'Assouanek' with the Wakore (the inhabitants of Wagudu), as well as similar evidence in Arab written sources and oral traditions narrated by the Soninke themselves.

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1. He does not specify from which language he translated into French.

2. The name used for the Soninke by the Berabich Moors.

Several oral traditions underline the close association between the Soninke princes of Wagudu and Sundiata, the Manding prince who became Emperor of Mali during the thirteenth century. For example, Djibril Tamsir Niane's transcription of the legend surrounding Sundiata's greatness includes references to this connection (1960:pp. 62-68), while Bathily (1969:49) cites another oral source, having re-translated the account of the ancient kingdom of Wagudu, collected by Charles Monteil.[1]

Once again, generic terminology can be found for the Soninke which substantiate such traditions. Pollet and Winter (1971:34) affirm that the term Wakore is still used to denote the Soninke around Timbuktu, although Bathily (1969:49) attributes this usage more specifically to the Songhay.[2]

In this study the generic term Soninke will be used, as the name that they have tended to favour for themselves, but their ethnic mother tongue will be referred to as Serahuli, since this was the term that most frequently recurred while conducting interviews in the Upper River Division of the Gambia.

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1. Monteil, C., 'La légende du Wagudou', Soninke account by Malamine Tandyan, IFAN, Dakar, 1953, retranslated and annotated by Bathily, A., BIFAN, t. XXIX, sér. B, Nos.1-2, 1967, pp.134-149.

2. The Soninke connection with Wagudu can also be seen in the term Wagobe, which Bathily (1969:49) describes the Hausa as using with reference to this ethnic group, thereby implying that this latter term is synonymous with Wakoré.

3.1.3. The Fulɓe and Tukulor

The controversy surrounding the origins of the Haalpulaar'en (Tukulor) raises the question of whether a common identity can be assumed for the inhabitants of Fouta Toro, Fouta Kingui, Fouta Djalon, Fouta Bondou, etc., who all speak dialects of the Fula language. The difference between their own nomenclature, and that of other ethnic groups, can confuse the issue, but it is important to note, at the outset, that the Tukulor call themselves Haalpulaar'en (those who speak Fula), whereas the other Fula-speaking groups of people identify themselves as Fulɓe (sing. Pullo). A variety of hypotheses concerning the migration of the Fulbe across Africa has led to differing versions about the origins of the Tukulor, as well as controversies about their inter-relationship with other ethnic groups, such as the Wolof, the Serer and the Soninke.

The confusion over the origins of the Tukulor can be attributed to limited knowledge about the ancient kingdom of Tekrur, which Delafosse (1912:235,fn.1) quoting Arab sources, located in the Fouta Toro region. Uncertainty about the original inhabitants of Tekrur has given rise to theories about the intermingling of the Tukulor with neighbouring ethnic groups, after the overthrow of the pagan Fulbe dynasty, the Deniankoobe,[1] in 1776 by a group of Muslim Toorobbe,[2] During the subsequent organisation of

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1. Koli Tengela Bâ had founded the Deniankoobe dynasty in the sixteenth century under a Satigi or Saltigui (See Diop, A.B. (1965:12,23 ; Wane (1969;pp.9,10) ; Saint Martin (1970:12).

2. The Toorobbe revolution, led by Souleiman Bal, instigated an elective system of politico-religious leadership under an Almamy (See above sources and p. 389,fn.3).

the Tukulor confederation, the Toorodbe, or Toorobbe (sing. Tooroodo) established themselves at the apex of the new hierarchy, and gradually gained a reputation throughout Senegambia for their maraboutic zeal in the propagation of Islam.

Part of the ethnic controversy centres on whether the Tukulor were the original inhabitants of Tekrur, or whether they subsequently developed through the assimilation of the ethnic groups of the area to the dominant Deniankoobe Fulbe. From the 'melting-pot' of ethnic groups that Tekrur has been described as[1], Faidherbe (1886:10) saw the Tukulor as having emerged from the fusion between the "Pouls(Peul)" with the "nègres Ouolofs et Mandingues qu'ils avaient vaincus"; while Tauxier (1937:16), though not discounting the Wolof influence, emphasized their Fula and Serer ancestry. Bérenger-Féraud (1879:253), misled by the similarity between the French pronunciation and spelling of the term Toucouleur and the English phrase 'two colours' came to the same conclusion as Faidherbe about their racial intermingling, differentiating the Fulbe from the Negro by their characteristic reddish skin colour. Delafosse (1912:119) referred back to the term Tokolor or Tokoror, used by the Wolof for both the area and its inhabitants, as the source for the confusion caused by the French in their modification of the name as 'Toucouleur'. The names used by the neighbouring Moors for the country (Takruur) and the people (Etkaarir, sing. Tekruurii) have been noted by Wane (1969:19) as still remaining in usage among Moorish traders in Senegal. They denote a Tukulor by the term Tekruurii,

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1. e.g. Wane (1969:19); Saint Martin (1970:15).

which could help to substantiate theories about the Tukulor being the original inhabitants of the ancient kingdom that once dominated the area.

As already noted, the name the Tukulor use for themselves, Haalpulaar'en, means those who speak 'Pulaar', referring specifically to the variety of Fula spoken in Fouta Toro. They may also call themselves 'Futankoobe' (Wane, 1969:19) or 'Peul Fouta', because of their geographical origin; but it is more common to hear other ethnic groups in Senegal refer to them as Tukulor in order to distinguish them from the Fulbe of Fouta Djalon (to whom these terms also apply). The Mandinka in the Gambia use the generic term 'Toranke' for the Tukulor, which is derived from the Fula, Toorankeejo (plural, Toorankoobe), being another indicator of geographical origin. The Tukulor who have migrated from Fouta Toro in order to propagate Islam are often identified as Toroobbe because of their professional status at the apex of Tukulor social hierarchy. This term, said to mean 'those who pray together' (Diop, A.B., 1965:23,fn.1; Saint Martin, 1970:12; Oloruntimehin, 1972:11,fn.2), refers to the élite class in Tukulor social stratification from which clerical leaders are drawn.[1] Their spiritual authority is denoted by the title ceerno (plural, seerembe) from which the Wolof title for a marabout:sériñ is derived.

Theories about the Judeo-Syrian (Delafosse, 1912),

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1. See Wane, Y., Les Toucouleur du Fouta Tooro, (Stratification sociale et structure familiale), IFAN, Dakar, 1969, p.33: 'Tableau Général des Castes Toucouleur'.

Hamitic (Tauxier, 1937) or Egyptian (Homburger, 1939) origins of the Fulbe have been used to account for their initial migration into the Western Sudan, and have led to different opinions about their linguistic development. The debate has been complicated by similarities between the Fula and Serer-Sine languages, but both are now generally classified as belonging to the West Atlantic group of Niger-Congo languages (Greenberg, 1949; Westermann and Bryan, 1952). Although Delafosse and Homburger held different theories about the racial origins of the Fulbe, they both believed that the Fula language was derived from Serer after the Fulbe had migrated into the area. However, since it is difficult to prove that a particular dialect or language preceded another, and since diverse theories about the origins of the Fulbe can confuse the issue, it must be emphasized that neither debate has succeeded in clarifying the relationship between the Tukulor and the Fulbe.

Despite the mystery surrounding their origins, successive migrations and ethnic inter-relationships, the Tukulor differ from the Fulbe in their hierarchical social stratification, habitat and physical appearance. Although preference for endogamous marriages still survives in the Fouta Toro, this custom does not extend to affinal ties between the Tukulor and Fulbe inhabitants of the region (Diop, A.B., 1965:pp.184,185; Wane, 1969:17), which implies an ethno-cultural distinction. The Fula language remains as the common link, implying a close association of some kind in the past, but the more significant reality in contemporary West Africa is that, through speaking

dialects of Fula, these people contribute to its role as a major language of wider communication across national boundaries. The phenomenal unity between the different dialects of this language (Lavergne de Tressan, 1953:197; Arnott, 1970:3) enable it to link the distant parts of West Africa and even the former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan to which Fula-speaking people have migrated.

In the following studies, those originating from the Fouta Djalon will be referred to as Fulbe, whereas those originating from the Fouta Toro will be classified as Tukulor. Their common language will be referred to consistently as Fula.

3.1.4. The Serer-Sine.

Opinions about the origins of the Serer and their inter-relationship with other ethnic groups (such as the Tukulor, the Mandinka and the Jola Foñi) are linked to hypotheses about their migration to Sine. The controversy has centred over whether they came northwards from Kaabu (Pinet-Laprade, 1865), or co-existed with the Tukulor in the Fouta Toro (Delafosse, 1912) before migrating southwards to Sine. The most plausible interpretation, put forward by Gravrand (1961) and Pélissier (1966), maintains that the ethnic origins of the Serer-Sine have been mistakenly attributed to a single source and direction. They cite different migrations into Sine from both north and south, including the gellwar matrilineage from Kaabu (who settled on La Petite Côte and in the Saloum Islands), as well as Serer-speaking people who migrated southwards after being

exposed to Fula influence through living in the Fouta Toro. The fusion of these different peoples necessitated processes of acculturation and language shift as a common ethnic identify emerged for those who settled in Sine.

The hypothesis about migratory patterns from different directions accounts for the linguistic affinities between the Serer-Sine and the Tukulor, as well as the Manding influence arising from the gellwar movement. This latter migration from the ancient Manding kingdom of Kaabu (which has been located in the northern interior of contemporary Guinea-Bissau) led to marriages between the gellwar and the Serer during the fourteenth century (Gravrand, 1961; Pelissier, 1966; Diop, A.S., 1972; Gueye,M., 1972), but the way in which the gellwar nobility subsequently exercised their authority over Sine, yet abandoned their own language in favour of the Serer-Sine language, remains confused and obscure.[1]

While it is uncertain whether the first migrants to the Saloum Islands were Mandinka or Serer, the continuing ambiguous relationship between the current inhabitants of Gandoul and the Betanti Islands further south can be attributed to the greater influence of the Serer-Sine language and culture in the north, whereas the islands to the south have been more susceptible to Manding culture and language. Apart from the study on Serer Niominka fishing communities (5.1.3.), this controversy over the ethno-linguistic

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1. See Gravrand,H., Visage africain de l'église, Editions de l'Orante, Paris, 1961, p.21; Pélissier, P., Les Paysans du Sénégal, Imprimerie Fabrègue, Saint-Yrieix, 1966, p.196; Gueye, M., Les Mandingues et le Sine', paper presented to the Manding Conference, SOAS, London, 1972, p.11.

origins of the Serer-Sine will also be referred to in the section on Senegambian families, concerning the Jammeh of Illiassa (6.2.3). Here also, interpretations reflect assumptions about the direction of migration, and about the tendency of the migrants to be culturally and linguistically assimilated into the host-community.

3.1.5. The Jola Foñi, Kasa and Buluf.

The wide variation in social customs and linguistic background, covered by the generic term Jola, raises the question of whether a common ethnic origin can truly be designated for all the inhabitants of the Casamance who have been classified as Jola. The linguistic diversity of the scattered communities of Casamançais Jola has accentuated the problem. Kennedy (1963:96) has cited the example of the sixty mile journey from Ziguinchor to Diembering, which crosses eight or nine dialect areas, at least half of which differ greatly.[1] Linguistic differences lead to difficulties in classification. Lavergne de Tressan (1953:158) recognised five main dialects of Jola in his Inventaire Linguistique de l'A.O.F. et du Togo. In contrast,

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1. The dialects that Kennedy was considering at that point in his research were (1) Foñi, (2) Huluf, (3) Casa, (4) Kwatay (Diembering), (5) Her (Cabrousse), (6) Bandial, (7) Karon, (8) Bayot, (9) Soukoudyak. He did not claim this list to be exhaustive. See Kennedy, A.M., 'Dialect in Diola', paper read to the Third West African Languages Congress, Freetown, Sierra Leone, March 1963; published in the Journal of African Languages, Vol.3, part 1, 1964, pp. 96-101.

Thomas (1959:12) classified the Jola into eight groups of people on the left bank and nine groups of people on the right bank of the River Casamance, according to "des considérations anthropoligiques, historiques, folkloriques et linguistiques". He emphasised, however, that these differences correspond more to geographical factors than to "des différenciations ethniques véritable", and subsequently simplified these subdivisions into two main groups on the right bank and six on the left.[1]

The linguistic complexity of the Jola, which Thomas (1958:508) criticised de Tressan for oversimplifying, raises the complex question of the distinction between dialect and language. Kennedy (1963:101) considered that a variety of 'dialects', many of which are not mutually intelligible, may in fact be better treated as a group of closely related languages, rather than as complex divergent dialects of one language. However, he concluded from his initial research that "despite the very great differences noted, the basic structure of these different types of Diola (noun classes and concord system, modes of the verb, relative uses of prefixes, suffixes, verbal particles and auxiliary verbs) is sufficiently constant to make us feel that we are dealing with one language..." He did not identify a particular dialect as a generally accepted 'standard', but Sapir (1965:1) has referred to Jola Foñi as the "dominant dialect" because of its wide geographical currency, and to the Jola group overall as

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1. See Thomas, L-V., Les Diola: essai d'analyse fonctionnelle sur une population de Basse Casamance, Mémoires de l'IFAN, No.55, 1959.

a "dialect-cluster with considerable inter-village variation."[1]

Although the terms Foñi, Kasa and Buluf are often used to distinguish the main sub-divisions within Jola, the geographical areas to which these terms correspond give a misleading impression of uniformity. Despite the tendency for the dialects covered by each term to be more inter-related than with those outside each area, most informants referred to their home language as the particular dialect of their village[2], rather than the main dialect of the area (which they usually spoke as a second dialect). This multiplicity of village dialects could have developed from common ethnic origins as the Jola established separate, inward-looking communities, suspicious of neighbours with whom the myriad of creeks and marshes of Casamance allowed little inter-communication.

The situation becomes more complex when, despite linguistic divergence over short distances, certain dialects divided by the River Casamance or spoken in other separated speech communities, are found to be very similar. Given the traditionally isolated nature of Jola communities (until the penetration of external influences, such as the Manding

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1. Sapir (1971) retracts some of his earlier conclusions by dissociating Kwataay, Bayot and Karon from the "Diola dialect-cluster". He identifies Gusilaay as the language spoken in Tionk-Essil (cf. p.409,fn.1).

2. As can be seen, for example, in the distinction made by Alhaji Sana Sanyang between 'Jola Tionk Essil' and 'Jola Diatok' (section 6.1.3.).

and Islam, followed by colonisation and Catholicism), it is difficult to understand why some dialects on opposite sides of the river should have retained so many common features. As examples, Thomas (1958:508) cites dialects as far apart as that of Affiniam, Butemb and Bukuyak (near Bignona) and that of Brin (near Ziguinchor), while Tété Diadhiou of Ziguinchor[1] identifies that of Efok and Youtou (near the border with Guinea-Bissau) with Kudiamatay (in the Foñi). These ambiguities of inter-relationship among the group of dialects generically known as 'Jola' have yet to be explained by further linguistic, historical and anthropological research.

The opening up of Jola village communities to outside influences attracted people towards Ziguinchor (the regional capital), but the more recent tendency has been the exodus northwards of young people during the dry season. Such migratory patterns will be considered in relation to Banjul in section (5.1.4.). Ziguinchor includes speakers of Jola dialects from the Foñi and Kasa areas predominantly, but although most inhabitants living south of the regional capital understand the main dialect of Jola Kasa (spoken as a first language around Oussouye), Foni has become more important as a language of wider communication for speakers of other Jola dialects. This is perhaps because, as all the Casamancais informants agreed, it is easier for speakers of dialects of Jola Kasa to understand the main dialect of Jola Foñi, than vice versa.

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1. Personal communication, Ziguinchor, 21.2.75.

It is therefore appropriate that this dialect has been adopted by the Office de Radiodiffusion Télévision du Sénégal (ORTS) for national news bulletins.

The term Jola itself reflects Manding influence in the Casamance, since leading informants, such as Tété Diadhiou and Father Gaston Badiane of Ziguinchor, agreed that the term was originally the Manding epithet for the Kujamat or Kujamata (sing. Ajamat or Ajamata) in the Foni area. It subsequently came to be applied to all those classified within the same ethnic group, despite their obvious linguistic diversity. The language of the Kujamat is called Kujamataay.[1] Informants, who were first language speakers of this language, considered it to be "la langue pûre", meaning that it has absorbed few loan words from neighbouring languages. They reported that it is still spoken by old people who have had little contact with strangers through remaining in their home villages.

The term Jola is still applied generically to a group of approximately 250,000 people in the Casamance and the Gambia with widely differing customs, and without a common historical tradition as a political entity.[2] Despite such differences, the speakers of the diverse

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1. Thomas (1959:12) calls the people 'Kadiamoutay', but those interviewed for this study used this term for the language, rather than the inhabitants of the Foñi area.

2. See Pélissier (1966:660).

dialects classified under this name believe that they all share a common ethnic origin. The Casamancais migrants interviewed were either Jola Foñi, Jola Buluf or Jola Kasa, and so it will be clearer if their home language is referred to by each of these terms.

3.1.6. The Wolof

Like the other major ethnic groups involved in migration across Senegambia, the background to the Wolof and their language is confusing. This arises from their inter-relationship with and co-existence among other peoples in the region, with whom the extent of reciprocal ethno-cultural and linguistic influences remains obscure. Gamble (1967) hesitates to define the Wolof as a homogenous group in his ethnographic study, noting instead (1967:14) the various traditions of "non-Wolof peoples being absorbed into Wolof communities". Sabatié (n.d.) and Pathé Diagne (1971) both refer to the origins of the Wolof as the Fouta Toro, with the latter (1971:11) specifically locating this as Lôf: "l'ancienne province du Tekrour". Sabatié describes a series of invasions which pushed the Wolof towards the south-west, thus forcing the Serer and the Manding in the direction of the Gambia.

Several sources refer to Ndiadiane Ndiaye as the founder of the Jolof empire in the fourteenth century (Diop, Cheikh Anta, 1949:850; Sabatié, n.d.:pp.297,298; Brigaud, 1964:pp.12-14). As the first Bur Joloff, he extended his authority over the neighbouring chieftancies of Cayor, Baol and Walo. Apart from uniting the Wolof

inhabitants of these areas under his leadership, he has also been praised for his decisive impetus to the evolution of the Wolof language. Brigaud (1964:69), for example, cites a legend in which Ndiadiane Ndiaye's role in instigating the development of this "langue originelle et nouvelle" is mentioned. Likewise, Cheikh Anta Diop (1948: 679; 1949:850), convinced of the "métissage" that characterises both the origins and the continuing evolution of these people, sees this new language emerging after Ndiadian Ndiaye's election as bur, since he spoke neither "la langue sérère ni celle des Djoloff-Djoloffs."

While the greater antiquity of the Serer may be generally recognised,[1] their intermingling, and the possible fusion of Fula elements in the formation of the Wolof, remain controversial. Cheikh Anta Diop (1949:852) adopts the extreme interpretation that to speak of the Wolof as a distinct ethnic group is a misconception: "On devient valaf chaque jour; tels ces valafs qui vous parlent encore de leur origine étrangère. La race valaf telle qu'elle qu'on la conçoit habituellement est un mythe..."[2] This view implies that the Wolof tend to

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1. See Gamble, D.P., The Wolof of Senegambia, International African Institute, London, 1967, p.97.

2. This view of the "métissage" surrounding Wolof origins has been extended by Cheikh Anta Diop in Nations, Nègres et Culture, Editions Africaines, Paris, 1955. He uses comparative word lists and derivations of Wolof clan names to illustrate his contention that "le valaf serait né de la déformation du sérère par tous ces éléments étrangers: Sara, Congolais, Toucouleurs, Peuls, Laobés, Sarakollés, etc..." (See Chapter 3, pp.293-322, especially p.315: Map showing the formation of the Wolof according to clan names associated with other ethnic groups).

assimilate other ethnic groups,which Angrand (1942:16) has also cited. However, Gamble (1967:14) rightly points out that fusion between different ethnic groups living in close contact results in Wolof culture having "very little that is not shared in some degree by neighbouring peoples." He gives (1967:97) the example of Sine Saloum where "one often cannot determine whether particular traits should be regarded as Wolof or Serer."

If the language is thus to be regarded as the distinguishing factor, then it is important to appreciate that the significance of Wolof reaches far beyond the confines of the people for whom it is the first language or the ethnic mother tongue. This has been partly due to their location in Walo and Cayor, in close proximity to the French trading posts at St. Louis and Gorée. Sabatié (n.d.: 296) notes that the Wolof were "les premiers parmi les noirs de la Côte avec lesquels nous prîmes contact." But, apart from this advantage, their adaptability (Gamble, 1967:79), and consequent enterprise in commercial affairs, has decisively influenced the spread of their language as a lingua franca in Senegambia. Sabatié (ibid) goes on to record that "ils furent à ce titre nos auxiliaires les plus sûrs dans nos entreprises à travers les siècles pour affermir et développer notre installation au Sénégal", while Gamble (1967:79) observes that "they showed none of the anti-French attitudes displayed by the Mauretanians and Futa Toro Fulbe, and French expansion into the interior owed a lot to Wolof and Lebu soldiers, sailors and interpreters.." The close involvement of the Wolof in French trading operations resulted in Mungo Park (re-ed. 1954:12)

noting, even in 1795, that "their language is said to be copious and significant, and is often learnt by Europeans trading in Senegal." The importance of this language in commerce has often been re-iterated (Boilat, 1858:vi; Gamble, 1967:22) but while Angrand (1942:15) notes with pride that "le ouolof est devenu la langue véhiculaire que trois cents ans d'assimilation française n'a pu supplanter", he fails to specify the commercial impetus to its growth as a language of wider communication.

In this study the term Wolof will be used for those who identify as Wolof, and for the language of the same name. It was more common in Banjul, however, to hear the term jolof with reference to the ethnic group, because of its identification with the Jolof area which was once the centre of their empire. The use of the term Wolof for both language and people is widely accepted in Senegal, however.

Conclusion

This section has introduced the ethnic mother tongues of the major groups, involved in contact across the Senegalo-Gambian order, and has attempted to survey some of the controversies concerning the origins of these peoples and their migrations into, or across, the area. It has been shown that the ethnic mother tongues of some of these groups function as second languages for other inhabitants. This role of languages of wider communication, like Mandinka, Fula and Wolof, will therefore be of particular relevance in the following sociolinguistic studies.

The Senegambian languages and ethnic groups, discussed above, have necessitated some explanation in connection with the ethnic map (A), because they occur so frequently in the different studies that constitute the next chapter. However, in some cases, such as the Oku and the Mulatto (who feature only in a specific study), the introduction to their background precedes the relevant sociolinguistic commentary.

3.2. Movement between Senegal and the Gambia

The following study of language usage between the inhabitants of Senegal and the Gambia is divided into three main sections, according to the nature and duration of the contact. Linguistic communication may arise from occasional mobility across the border, or from temporary or permanent migration. Mackey (1962) considered that the duration and frequency of contact were important variables affecting language usage, but he also identified "economic, administrative, cultural, political, military, historical, religious or demographic factors" as "pressures of contact" influencing language choice. Such influences have been cited where relevant to each case study, but traditional kinship ties must also be included as a significant type of contact in the context of Senegalo-Gambian relations.

The first section below covers four major professional spheres in which contact has occasionally taken place across the border. This includes contact associated with diplomacy, commerce, Islam/Catholicism, and road transport. The first three studies in the commercial field focus on

descendants of professionals who were initially involved in trading operations in Senegal or the Gambia as clerks or businessmen. These informants have retained only kinship ties with their parents' country and area of origin, but are included in this study because of the decisive influence of the commercial factor in their establishment as permanent Senegalese or Gambian residents. Their significance in the study of language usage thus relates to their position as first or second generation descendants of migrants involved in commerce.

The following sections cover different types of migratory patterns, involving either seasonal/short-term migrants or those who have settled permanently in the neighbouring country. The distinction between temporary and permanent migration cannot also be strictly maintained between the two sections because the section includes isolated examples of a trader, fisherman or domestic worker, who, having originally migrated on a seasonal or short-term basis, eventually decided to settle permanently.

The distinction is, in any case, difficult to analyse precisely, because of the gradualness of the process of loosening socio-cultural and economic ties with the place of origin. Links, such as leaving wives and children behind, returning to farm during the wet season, educating children in the country of origin, sending money back to kin and affines, can be taken as indicators of the 'temporary' nature of the migrant's option to seek employment or to trade across the border. Amselle (1976:31) has pointed out that it is not the absence of the individual from his place of origin that is significant, but "le maintien de

relations de toutes sortes (flux d'argent, de marchandises, de parents, circulation de l'information) avec celle-ci." The retention of such ties is also reflected in the linguistic repertoire of the migrant, which may either remain unchanged or be modified by the speech community of adoption.

Apart from detail on the maintenance of ties with the place of origin, the original reason for migration as stated by informants has in each case been recorded. Although Samir Amin (1974) arbitrarily dismisses such individual motivations[1], they remain relevant to a study in which the ideological and psycho-social[2] aspirations of the migrant are being considered in relation to how far he is susceptible to the process of socio-cultural change. The individual may analyse his personal reasons for migration without taking socio-economic changes in his original rural environment into account, but it is beyond the scope of this thesis to pursue a comprehensive study of all the factors that could have instigated a decision to migrate. "Negative pressures (land shortage, political oppression, family feuds)", and "positive

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1. See, for example, p.31: "Les motivations individuelles sont connues; leur 'révelation' par une enquête sociologique n'est au fond que platitude. Plus grave, les motivations sont parfois l'apparence qui cache la raison réelle..."

2. Imoagene (1974:344) defines 'psycho-social migration' as leading to participation in the amenities of urban life. See Imoagene,O., 'Some sociological aspects of migration in West Africa', in Amin,S. (Ed.) Modern Migrations in Western Africa, OUP/IAI, 1974.

inducements (marketing of cash crops, new opportunities for achievement)" have been identified by Kuper (1965:2) with reference to the rural-urban migratory flow that has been accelerated by the economic policies of the colonial era. The political and economic interests of the colonial governments may have exerted a decisive influence on the volume and direction of migration patterns (Parkin, 1975:7), but the element of personal choice cannot be entirely discounted. Although the primary emphasis on economic determinants controlling migration is generally upheld (Clyde Mitchell, 1959, reprinted 1970:27; Parkin, 1975:10), Samir Amin can be criticised for concentrating solely on economic variables, irrespective of cultural or social factors. "Personal or normative" motivations for migration (Clyde Mitchell, 1959, reprinted 1970:31; Imoagene, 1974:352) could be included among Kuper's "negative pressures", without necessarily relating to economic influences or aspirations. Parkin (1975:10) preferred to use the term 'ideological' to cover the "'social' needs and predispositions" that may affect the <u>incidence</u> of migration. This follows Parsons (1937:344) and Clyde Mitchell (1959, reprinted 1970: 32) in their distinction between the <u>rate</u> and <u>incidence</u> of labour migration in order to separate economic and personal variables. In the normative sense of ethnic cultural group membership, Parkin (1975:11) concluded that both the economic and ideological aspects of a custom, such as bridewealth, could be used to justify the incidence of migration: "The repertoire of possible 'reasons' for leaving are wide, being limited only by what is recognised and therefore acceptable in that particular culture."

The economic reason cannot necessarily be separated from the cultural pressures of the community.

However, this study cannot attempt to contribute to the flourishing ideological debate on the analysis of migratory phenomena.[1] Among the migrants interviewed in order to ascertain patterns of language usage, a particular incident, such as a family disagreement, or a personal crisis, had sometimes led to departure to the neighbouring country. It was not possible, however, to establish whether this was the sole reason, or a cumulative reason following a period of economic difficulty. Simplified typologies (such as "pre-colonial/modern", "agricultural colonisation[2]/labour migration[3]", etc.) will be used to

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1. See Kuper, H., Introduction to Urbanization and Migration in West Africa, University of California Press, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1965,pp.1-22; Amin,S., Introduction to Modern Migrations in Western Africa, OUP/IAI, London, 1974, pp.3-61; Parkin, D.J., 'Models of migratory processes' in Town and Country in Central and Eastern Africa, OUP/IAI, London, 1975, pp.9-16; Amselle, J-L., 'Aspects et significations du Phénomène migratoire en Afrique' in Les Migrations Africaines, Maspero, Paris, 1976, pp.9-39.

2. On agricultural colonisation in Senegal, see Pélissier, P., Les Paysans du Sénégal, Imprimerie Fabrègue, Saint-Yrieix, 1966; N'Doye, E., 'Migrations des pionniers mourid wolof vers les terres neuves: role de l'économique et du religieux' in Amin.S. (op.cit.), pp.371-383.

3. On labour migration in Senegambia, see Jarrett,H.R.,'The Strange farmers of the Gambia', The Geographical Review, Vol. XXXIX, No.4, Oct., 1949, pp.648-657; Gamble,D., Contributions to a socio-economic survey of the Gambia, Colonial Office Research Department, London, 1949, chapter IV, pp.73-78; Thomas, L.V., 'Esquisse sur les mouvements de populations et les contacts socio-culturels en pays Diola (Basse Casamance), BIFAN, sér.B, t.XXII, No.3-4, 1960, pp.486-508; Diop, A.B., Société Toucouleur et Migration, IFAN, Dakar, 1965; Wane,Y., 'Besoins sociaux et mobilité des Toucouleurs', Notes Africaines, IFAN, Dakar, No.101, January 1964, pp.16-23; Diallo, I., 'Les migrations frontalières entre le Sénégal et la Gambie', IDEP/ET/CS/2337-6, Dakar, 1971; Baldé, M.S., 'Un cas typique de migration interafricaine: L'Immigration des Guinéens au

distinguish between the variety of migratory patterns that constitute this study. Individual reasons given for migration will also be cited, because of their relevance to the maintenance, or dislocation, of traditional ethno-linguistic ties. The 'professed' motive for migration presents only one aspect of this complex process of socio-cultural change, which, despite its limitations, can be seen as an indicator of the migrant's self-identity and ideological aspirations in a new speech community.

CHAPTER 4

LANGUAGE USAGE AND OCCASIONAL MOBILITY

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LANGUAGE USAGE AND OCCASIONAL MOBILITY

4.1. Diplomacy: Language usage among Government Representatives involved in Senegalo-Gambian co-operation.

Introduction.

Language usage in diplomatic relations between Senegal and the Gambia has reflected a variety of factors at presidential level[1] - depending on the subject matter, the situation, international convention, or fraternal inclination. A president may feel bound by protocol to use his official language of government in formal situations, such as discussing areas of co-operation round the conference table, or welcoming his fellow president on a state visit. However, he may also override convention if he thinks that the use of another language could foster mutual sympathy and understanding more successfully. In the decisive stand taken by President Senghor and President Jawara in orienting their policies towards a closer relationship, President Senghor's fluency in Wolof, French and English, and President Jawara's fluency in Mandinka, Wolof, English and, to a much lesser degree, French, have made a vital contribution.

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1. Unless otherwise stated, the information from President Senghor and President Jawara is based on personal interviews in Dakar (7.3.74 & 10.3.75) and in Banjul (23.1.76).

Close co-operation between Senegal and the Gambia is embodied in the Treaty of Association (19 April, 1967) which makes provision for annual conferences between the heads of state, and for meetings of an inter-state ministerial committee, charged with submitting projects of co-operation for approval by both governments. Article 7 of the Treaty allowed for the creation of a joint secretariat as "a permanent investigation, liaison and information body"[1], which, like the Inter-state Ministerial Committee, has retained English and French as its working languages. Information from the Presidents of the two Republics, from Ministers who had attended joint meetings, and from diplomats accredited to the Secretariat and to their respective High Commissions in Dakar and Banjul, has revealed a decisive evolution in language attitudes and practices during the period from Jawara's state visit to Senegal in April, 1973, to Senghor's state visit to the Gambia in January, 1976. English and French are the two official languages involved in promoting Senegalo-Gambian relations, but Wolof has gradually assumed more significance.

Nevertheless, it is important to realise that, among these government representatives, there has not been an absolute distinction between the languages used for official purposes, working languages and the languages used in informal social interaction (Table I). It would seem from this study that diplomatic expedience leads to a

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1. Sy, S.O., 'Senegambian Co-operation: Operations and Perspectives', Proceedings of the Colloquium on Senegambia, University of Aberdeen African Studies Group, 1974, p.129.

flexibility in language usage which belies assumptions that certain languages consistently function in particular domains.[1]

4.1.1. Language options in Senegalc-Gambian contact.

The main languages of wider communication in diplomatic contact between Senegal and the Gambia emerged as English, French and Wolof. The shifting role of Wolof in relation to English and French perhaps reflected increasing mutual confidence at inter-state level.

Wolof is more important than other Senegambian languages (such as Fula or Mandinka) in its potential for promoting inter-state relations. In Senegal it has become the major national language, whereas in the Gambia, despite having less numerical significance than Fula or Mandinka,[2] it constitutes the dominant lingua franca of the capital, Banjul. It has been identified by President Jawara as a major contributory influence to the evolution of Banjul as a "de-tribalising area",[3] and consequently

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1. Such expedience contrasts with Ferguson's functional distinction between 'high' and 'low' varieties of a language (see Ferguson, C.A., 'Diglossia', Word, Vol.15, 1959, pp.325-340). Fishman (1966; 1968) subsequently applied this antithesis to the multilingual context of Africa south of the Sahara, in which official languages could be assigned to "formal, statusful domains" and local languages to "home, family and neighbourhood domains".

2. The Wolof constitute 15.7% of the total population, whereas the Mandinka constitute 42.3% and the Fula 18.2%, according to the Report on the Population Census 1973, Central Statistics Division, Banjul, 1974, Table 3.

3. Personal communication, Banjul, 23.1.76.

the language with the greatest potential for reinforcing the common heritage of the two Republics.

In the first decade after Independence each official language was considered as a unifying force transcending ethnic and linguistic differences, since it served to enhance the nationist[1] identity of each Republic. Consequently, both Presidents have often referred to the need to be bilingual in the two official languages. For example, President Jawara prophesied in 1972 that "the outcome of a considerable degree of bilingualism ... should help in harmonising activities in more fields than are really possible now".[2] Similarly, President Senghor commented when the Gambian High Commissioner presented his credentials in November, 1974: "Il y a même que l'ancienne division que provoquait parmi nous l'usage de deux langues officielles différentes, héritées des anciens colonisateurs, est en train de se transformer en lien, puisque l'anglais est la première langue étrangère enseignee au Sénégal comme le français la première langue étrangère en Gambie..."[3] The problem of putting this lofty ideal of bilingualism into effect have been discussed elsewhere[4], since it over-

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1. See p. 376, fn.1; p.483; p.494.

2. Interview in Africa magazine, No.15, November 1972.

3. Reported in Le Soleil, 28.11.74.

4. See Treffgarne, C., The Role of English and French as Languages of Communication between Anglophone and Francophone West African States, Africa Educational Trust, London, 1975; 'Senegambia: Possibilities for Closer Co-operation in the Field of Education', Proceedings of the Colloquium on Senegambia, University of Aberdeen African Studies Group, 1974, pp.133-138.

estimates the numbers of students who have the opportunity to study two foreign languages to such an advanced level. It also overlooks the danger that, despite their 'neutral' role in a national context, foreign languages may acquire connotations of different colonial experiences and administrative infrastructure when used in international relations.

On the other hand, English and French can be used instead of Wolof to retain a certain distance between the two governments, as may be desirable during times of crisis in inter-state relations (such as border-land incidents or smuggling),[1] The use of official languages can also provide bilingual participants with additional time for reflection over a proposal, especially as a certain wariness about Senegalese ambitions appears to have initially characterised Gambian attitudes to closer co-operation. Such suspicion was inevitable during the early years after the Gambia's Independence (1965), given the imbalance between the two countries in size, population, experience of government and relative importance under the colonial administration of West Africa.

4.1.2. Language usage in Senegalo-Gambian contact.

The Gambian and Senegalese delegations depended on interpreters at joint meetings until December, 1975, since so few of the diplomats and ministers involved could speak both English and French fluently (Table I:C10).

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1. e.g. September, 1972; July, 1974.

Most of the Senegalese civil servants interviewed, who had studied English at secondary school, claimed that it had been taught according to 'grammar/translation' methods, with little emphasis on actually speaking the language (I:4,5,7,16,17). In the Gambia more importance was attached to teaching Latin than French,[1] and those who were able to study French did not reach a very high standard until the first students took French as a university option in the early 1960s. One or two rare individuals, such as the Secretary-General in the President's office (I:9) or a few career diplomats (I:1, 2,6), could speak French fluently, but - while the Gambian government has been careful to post diplomats having French at degree level to the Senegambian Secretariat - it has only been since 1974 that the Gambia has had a French-speaking High Commissioner in Dakar (I:1). It had previously been Government policy to accredit at least one French-speaking diplomat to Senegal, intending that he should interpret for the High Commissioner if need be. There have also been administrative staff in the High Commission who could speak French as a result of living in Dakar for many years. In Banjul, on the other hand, it was significant that in 1976 there was no fluent English-speaking official at the Senegalese High Commission. Senegalese diplomats, accredited to the Gambia, acknowledged being able to use Wolof in a wider range of formal situations with Gambian civil servants than would be possible in similar contexts in Dakar, in which they said they would only use French

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1. See pp. 83, 84; 86.

(I:4,5,7,8).[1]

Ministerial delegations tended to be greeted on arrival in Dakar or Banjul by formal speeches of welcome in the host's official language, but the difficulty of being fluent in two official languages necessitated reverting to Wolof for informal discussions. In both cases, the limited number of professional interpreters available frequently led to reliance on members of the foreign service who could assume this function in formal situations. Wolof had consistently been used in informal social contact, as well as being occasionally used in formal meetings when interpreters were otherwise engaged.[2]

In December 1975, however, a decisive change in language usage at official Senegalo-Gambian meetings occurred. The adoption of Wolof for formal meetings was precipitated by President Senghor during a conference between the Heads of State in Dakar. The Inter-State Ministerial Committee meeting had taken place with a Senegalese and Gambian diplomat from the permanent Senegambian Secretariat interpreting into their respective languages, but,when they met with the two Presidents to report on their joint discussions, President Senghor suggested that the conference should continue in Wolof. During the Senegalese President's state

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1. Less rigid attitudes to language choice in the Gambia may be compared to the more 'sophisticated' approach of the Senegalese (in their tendency to use French in shops and offices), mentioned disparagingly by the majority of Gambians interviewed in the course of this survey.

2. e.g. Meeting for Experts in the field of Information and Broadcasting, Dakar, 20/23.12.73.

visit to the Gambia (16-19 January, 1976), it was proposed at the beginning of the meeting for the ministerial delegations that Wolof should be used for the discussion, perhaps marking an important precedent for all formal contact at this level. Many participants subsequently commented on the favourable change in atmosphere and the speed with which they finished the agenda, President Jaware referring to the advantage of "direct communication".[1]

4.1.3. Presidential language usage

Language usage during personal discussions between President Senghor and President Jawara varied according to the situation or subject matter. Interpreters have been used, or have been replaced by the use of Wolof, President Senghor has spoken English, and President Jawara has made a few remarks in French, both having chosen to study the neighbouring official language in their spare time.

President Senghor has identified English as a language "non pas de banquiers et de businessmen, même pas d'ingénieurs, mais de poètes. Son premier don est, en effet, celui de l'image analogique, symbolique..."[2] He has therefore developed his English to the point where he can appreciate English poetry in the original, translating

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1. Personal communication, Banjul, 23.1.76.

2. Lecture on 'Anglophonie et Francophonie', St. Antony's College Oxford, 26.10.73. He made a similar reference in a speech at the inauguration of the British Institute, Dakar, 20.11.70.

certain poets, such as Gerald Manley Hopkins, T.S. Eliot, W.B. Yeats and Dylan Thomas, into French. He tends to make speeches to English-speaking audiences partly in English, partly in French, providing copies of the original French text in English. Although he has pointed out that the English text is always a translation: "Je n'arrive à penser en anglais que lorsqu'il s'agit de choses simples,"[1] he has successfully used his fluent command of English to promote Senegalese foreign policy.[2]

President Jawara had the disadvantage of not being able to study French at the Methodist Boys'High School, because of a shortage of French teachers at that time, and so he has had to start from the beginning with private lessons and 'Assimil' records.[3] He can conduct a simple conversation in French, but "ce qui me manque, c'est un peu d'entraînement dans la conversation courante..."[4] President Senghor said that he would speak English if the person he is addressing does not speak French or Wolof,[5] but both he and President Jawara identified Wolof as the language they most often use in Senegalo-Gambian relations, despite its lack of formal status in this context.

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1. Personal correspondence, Dakar, No.1,458/PR/SP, 1.8.73.
2. A recent notable example includes the secret meeting at Yamoussoukro, which apparently developed into a verbal duel between Senghor and Vorster, with Houphouët-Boigny listening in (See West Africa, 28.4.75).
3. Personal communication, Banjul, 23.1.76.
4. Translated interview in Le Soleil, 19.2.76.
5. Personal communication, Dakar, No.357/PR/SP, 7.3.74.

President Senghor is of course unuaual among heads of state in his deep academic concern in the form and structure of language, his "tête grammairienne"[1] having enabled him to become Professeur de Lettres et Grammaire in various French lycées during the 1930s. Both Presidents studied Latin at school, but the importance Senghor attaches to his own classical education has led him to retain Latin within the Senegalese educational system[2], despite movements elsewhere to the contrary. He became Professor of African Languages at the Ecole Nationale de la France d'Outre-mer in 1944 and has published studies on Wolof and Serer-Sine. He takes an active role in the work of national commissions on the six major Senegalese languages, either as a participant or in the formulation of the decrees relating to standardisation. Apart from Latin and Greek, Senghor distinguishes between the languages that he speaks, i.e. French, Wolof and English, and the languages that he can read with the help of a dictionary, i.e. Serer, Fula, Italian and Spanish. On the other hand, President Jawara specialised in veterinary studies at the University of Glasgow, and so , apart from the Latin he learnt at school, did not have the opportunity to learn

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1. Allocution de M. Le Président de la République, Ve Biennale de la Langue Française, Dakar, 3.12.73, p.10.

2. See lecture given at the 5th Congress of the 'Vita Latina' Association, Pau (Pyrénées-Atlantiques), April, 1975, reported in Le Soleil, 2.4.75; cf. Chapter 2, section (2.3).

3. Three of which have been re-published in Manessy, G. & Sauvageot, S., Wolof et Serer, Publications de la Section de Langues et Littératures, No.12, Université de Dakar, 1963.

another language until he took up French" through interest, and because of its importance as a means of communication between African states."

Both Presidents include Wolof in their linguistic repertoires, perhaps illustrating its significance as a language of wider communication in the two centres of government, since neither President spoke it as a mother tongue. President Senghor spoke only Serer until the age of seven, when he want to school and picked up Wolof from his schoolmates at the same time as learning French. President Jawara similarly did not learn Wolof until he was sent to school in Banjul at the age of eight and lived in a Wolof-speaking family, having previously spoken only Mandinka.

The two Presidents referred to the importance of Wolof as a means for communicating more directly, and hence more effectively, with their people. It can also provide an emotional link with the audience that President Senghor is careful to nurture, despite his tendency to use the official language more than his Gambian counterpart does. For example, President Senghor uses Wolof, as well as French, in speeches outside Dakar; although, if he visits a Fula, Jola, Mandinka, or Soninke village, he speaks in French with an interpreter translating into the local language. President Jawara uses Wolof or Mandinka in political meetings or official visits to the provinces, depending on the dominant language of the locality. At political rallies in Banjul, he uses both Wolof and Mandinka to make sure that everyone understands properly, only beginning the speech in English if he knows that it will be reported in the press.

He uses English so that the journalists will take down his speech verbatim for direct quotation, rather than possibly mis-representing his views through making their own interpretation from Wolof into English.

When President Senghor makes a speech in French, he has the habit of citing a dictum in Wolof, Serer or Fula, not only to crystallise certain ideas or feelings: ".. il y a certains sentiments qui sont intraduisibles en français, et il m'arrive, quand j'en ai besoin, de m'exprimer en Wolof...",[1] but also to lighten the atmosphere. He gave the example of the Wolof dictum "Bëgë dem taxul dem, mën a dem moy tax a dem" (It's not to take off which makes one get somewhere, but to be able to take off which makes this worthwhile), which he was intending to cite at the first session of the Conseil Economique et Social, 1974, "... tout cela pour dire que vouloir 'sénégaliser' les emplois du secteur privé ne suffit pas; pour pouvoir les 'sénégaliser', il faut former des cadres compétents."[2]

President Senghor is conscious of the role Senegalese languages can play in creating closer feelings of fraternity between himself and his people, as for example when he recited three poems in Serer at his birthplace, Joal, during an official visit to the region of Thiès in February, 1975.[3] President Jawara has used the same means of making a point

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1. Personal communication, Dakar, No.580/PR/SP, 10.3.75.
2. Personal communication, Dakar, No.357/PR/SP, 7.3.74.
3. "C'est ici que je retrouve le langage du coeur" (Le Soleil, 13.2.75).

by diplomatically citing another Wolof dictum "dokh n'danka terehwul'a agga" (Going slowly will get you there in the end), in a speech discussing closer relations between the two countries made during his state visit to Senegal in April, 1973.[1] President Jawara generally communicates with politicians or civil servants in English, though he occasionally uses Wolof or Mandinka, while both Presidents tend to use the official language of government to enhance their authority, and to keep working relations on a formal, distant basis.

With religious leaders and traditional chiefs, President Senghor usually speaks Wolof, but he pointed out that "certains comprennent très bien le français, et, dans ce cas, il m'est plus facile de parler en français",[2] admitting that he thinks in French more naturally than in any other language. His preference for speaking French is one of facility, not only with traditional chiefs, but also within his own family: "En famille, je parle français en général, mais, comme j'ai des cousins à la campagne qui ne comprennent pas tous le français, je parle wolof avec eux quand ils viennent nous voir à Dakar."[3] President Jawara referred to the fact that it is rare for a Seyfu or an Alcali (district and village chiefs) to speak English,

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1. This transcription of the dictum cited by Sir Dawda does not follow the Senegalese standardised Wolof orthography, but was taken from the report of his speech in Le Soleil, 27.4.73.

2. Personal communication, Dakar, No.580/PR/SP, 10.3.75.

3. Personal communication, Dakar, No.580/PR/SP, 10.3.75.

and so he would use Mandinka or Wolof in communication with them, depending on their background. The same policy applied to contact with Muslim leaders, although, with Christian leaders, English would be used. He does not have the same attachment to the language that has dominated his education as Senghor has, but he stressed the importance of learning Arabic, not only as the holy language of the Qur'ān, but also as a means of promoting African unity.[1] The relative ease with which he speaks Wolof, Mandinka and English is reflected in their concurrent usage in his home, "depending on my mood and inclination". However, he admitted that perhaps Wolof is used more often, given that both his wives were brought up speaking Wolof as their first language.[2]

Just as President Senghor has used his fluency in English to enhance Senegal's international relations, President Jawara has utilised Mandinka, with a similar purpose in mind, during visits to neighbouring countries where dialects of the Manding language are spoken.[3] He could not generate the same feelings of fraternal unity by expressing himself in Mandinka in Senegal, unless in the Casamance, where the main concentration of Senegalese Manding is located. Mandinka cannot foster Senegambian relations

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1. See Chapter 2, section (2.3.).

2. Although neither is Wolof by birth.

3. e.g. Speeches at Conakry and Kankan (January 1973); in the Gabu area of Guinea-Bissau (July 1974); at Ségou (January 1975).

to the same extent as Wolof, since President Senghor does not speak it, and it does not serve as a lingua franca across Senegal, except for parts of the Casamance region.

Nevertheless, during his state visit to the Gambia in January 1976, President Senghor did begin a political speech in Wolof with a greeting in Mandinka, since he was addressing a meeting in Brikama, a town in which Mandinka speakers predominate. The rest of his speech was interpreted from Wolof into this local lingua franca, but the few words that he spoke in Mandinka were considered by one leading Gambian official to have helped to create a more receptive atmosphere for a speech emphasizing Senegambian unity and co-operation.

Conclusion

In Senegalo-Gambian relations language usage continues to vary, but from the precedents set in December 1975 and January 1976, it would seem that both the Senegalese and the Gambian governments have accepted the de facto replacement of the two official languages by a local Senegambian language for joint meetings. English and French are still relevant in this context, not only through the loan words that have been incorporated into 'Banjul' and 'Dakar' Wolof,[1] respectively, but also through their continuing significance for all written material relating

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1. See Dumont, P., Les Emprunts du Wolof au Français, CLAD No.50, Dakar, 1973.

to inter-state co-operation. It was evident at the Inter-State Ministerial meeting in January 1976 that it is not easy to speak exclusively in Wolof, without including words or phrases in the official language, when the speaker is referring to an English or French text.[1] Maintaining written records in the official language also requires fluent Wolof-speaking secretaries,[2] who ideally should have the ability to take Wolof shorthand. This would overcome the difficult task of listening in Wolof while writing in English or French.

The problem of varying degrees of fluency in Wolof was raised by one informant, since speakers of Wolof as a second or third language may not reach the same overall standard that they acquire in English or French as part of their formal education. However, although President Jawara admitted that some of his Ministers, particularly those who had their primary education in the provinces, may not be as fluent in Wolof as their colleagues who were brought up in Banjul, he did not see this as a serious drawback to communication between

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1. For example, a Gambian Minister, in referring to the controversial issue of the future of the Ecole Sénegalaise in Banjul, switched between English and Wolof, including phrases such as "problem bi defa difficult".

2. For example, at the Conference of the Heads of State in Dakar in December 1975, a Gambian Aku secretary (speaking Wolof as a second language) had difficulty in understanding the subtleties implicit in President Senghor's emphasis on "ligeey bi fonk naa ko". (I attach a lot of importance to this work). The difficulty arose because the President was using the term fonk (meaning 'respect' or 'significance') to refer obliquely to the importance of the construction of the Trans-Gambia bridge.

the two countries. In any case, their understanding of Wolof would be far greater than their knowledge of French.

Although the use of Wolof has not yet been established formally as the main language for conferences held under the auspices of the Senegalo-Gambian Treaty of Association, President Jawara thought that it was unlikely that they would revert to the old system of relying on interpreters, now that the significance of Wolof had been demonstrated in this context. The pattern of language usage in Senegambian co-operation has always been complex. The linguistic repertoires of the two presidents involved have been important factors in determining the tone of diplomatic relations, given that their inclinations have varied from meeting to meeting. Nevertheless, President Jawara and President Senghor realise the potential political significance of language choice in promoting closer unity, and neither has hesitated to use this expedient where it could be advantageous.

Table I: Government Representatives involved in Senegalo-Gambian Meetings: Linguistic Flexibility in the Interests of International Co-operation.

Background									
(A1) Age & Sex	M40+	F20+	M40+	M30+	M40+	M30+	Mo0+	M60+	M50+
(A2) Birthplace	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Thiès	Kedougou	Banjul	Dakar	Ziguinchor	Banjul
(A3) Education	University	University	Quranic & Secondary	Quranic & University	Quranic & Secondary	Quranic & University	Quranic & Teacher Training	Primary English then French-medium education in Dakar.	Primary & Secondary
(A4) Occupation	Diplomat	Diplomat	Diplomat	Diplomat	Inter-preter translator	Diplomat	Ex-head-master, now diplomat	Diplomat	Government official
(A5) Residence	Dakar	Dakar	Dakar	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul
Senegambian contact									
(B1) Kin & Affines	✓ Dakar	-	✓ Dakar	✓ Medina-bye-Mass	✓	✓	-	✓ Banjul	✓
(B2) Occupation	Gambian High Commission	Gambian High Commission	Gambian High Commission	Senegambian Secretariat	Senegambian Secretariat	Senegambian Secretariat	Senegalese High Commission	Senegalese High Commission	Government
Language Repertoire									
(C1) HL1	Wolof (to mother)	Aku	Mandinka	Wolof	Fula	Aku	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
(C2) HL2	Aku (to father)	-	Wolof	a little Fula	Bambara Jahanka	Wolof	-	Aku	Aku French
(C3) LWC (A2)	Wolof Aku	Wolof Aku	Mandinka Wolof Aku	Wolof	Fula	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof Aku	Wolof Aku
(C4) L/Education	English	English, later French	Arabic English	Arabic French	Arabic French	Arabic, English, later French	Arabic French	English, Then French	English
(C5) L/Religion	English	English	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic Wolof	Arabic	Arabic	French/Latin	English/ Latin
(C6) LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof Mandinka	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof Aku	Wolof Aku
(C7) WLs	French or Wolof with Senegalese officials, depending on mood of interlocutor English the offi-cial WL of High Commi-ssion, but Wolof the most common language spoken with staff (or Aku/ Mandinka, depending on HL of colleagues).	French with Senegalese officials. English/Aku /Wolof in High Commission (depending on status & HL of interlo-cutor).	French with represen-tatives of French firms, Wolof to Sene-galese officials or busi-nessmen, Mandinka to service staff, Wolof or Aku to colleagues.	English with High officials in formal contexts, otherwise Wolof in-formally. French/ English interpre-tation at meetings & in office, but Wolof often used with colleagues.	English/ French interpre-tation & translation. French or Wolof used more than English in oral com-munication in office.	French with the Execu-tive Secre-tary, but with other colleagues a lot of switching from French to Wolof.	In formal contact has to use French/ English inter-preters but uses Wolof more than any other language in business with Gam-bian Government, In High Commission uses French with col-leagues, sometimes Wolof.	English with Gam-bian offi-cials, otherwise Wolof if visitor does not speak English. French with High Commission staff.	French with Senegalese represen-tatives. Could use Wolof with Gambian ministers but tends to speak English. Wolof used more with visitors who don't speak English or French.
(C8) OL1	English	English	English	French	French	English	French	French	English
(C9) OL2	French (part of degree)	French (at Universities of Dakar & in France).	French (night school in Dakar).	Some English (from secon-dary edu-cation).	Started English lessons while at French Consulate in Banjul	French	Limited English	English	French
(C10) S/G LWC	Wolof French	Wolof French Aku	Wolof French Aku Mandinka	French English Wolof	French English Wolof Mandinka	English French Wolof	French Wolof limited English (B2)	French English Wolof (B2) Wolof or Aku (B1)	English French Wolof only occasionally
(E) Comments		Picked up Wolof from schoolmates & parti-cularly during year at University of Dakar.	Came to Dakar 15 years ago for medical treatment. Got a job at Petersen's then in Peace Corps Adminis-tration.		Learnt Wolof while at secon-dary school in Thiès for 5 years. Worked at French Consulate in Banjul for 6 years.	Taught English as a foreign language in Thies(S) 1967/69.	Said Wolof used more freely in civil ser-vant circles in Banjul than Dakar, when travels outside Banjul takes an official who speaks Mandinka & Fula for interpre-tation.	Father Senegalese but mother Gambian. Sent to kin in Dakar for French-medium education.	Since mother French, could work for French Consulate in Banjul 1960-1965.
	I:1	I:2	I:3	I:4	I:5	I:6	I:7	I:8	I:9

Table I: Government Representatives involved in Senegalo-Gambian Meetings: Linguistic Flexibility in the Interests of International Co-operation

Table I : Government Representatives involved in Senegalo-Gambian Meetings : Linguistic Flexibility in the Interests of International Co-operation.

	I:10	I:11	I:12	I:13	I:14	I:15	I:16	I:17	I:18
Background									
(A1) Age & Sex	M60+	M40+	M40+	M40+	F30+	M30+	M50+	M50+	F40+
(A2) Birthplace	Banjul	Upper River Division	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	?(outside Banjul)	River Region	St. Louis	Banjul
(A3) Education	Primary & Quranic	Quranic Secondary	Quranic University	University	Secondary	Quranic & University	Quranic Secondary	Quranic University	University
(A4) Occupation	Politician	Politician	Government official	Government official	Secretary to high official	Government official	Government official	Government official	Government official
(A5) Residence	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Bignona	Dakar	Dakar
Senegambian contact									
(B1) Kin & affines	✓ Kin in Dakar	✓	✓ Kin at Ndiagne	-	-	✓		✓ Kin in Banjul, mother Gambian	✓ Kin in Banjul. father worked there
(B2) Occupation	Government	Government	Government	Government	Government	Government	Government	Government	Government
Language repertoire									
(C1) HL1	Wolof	Fula (Fuladu)	Wolof	Aku (Krio)	Aku (to mother)	Mandinka	Fula (Jere)	Wolof	Wolof
(C2) HL2	Aku (Krio)	-	Aku (Krio)	Wolof (with servants)	English (to father)	Wolof	Hossaniya (to mother)	-	-
(C3) LWC (A2)	Wolof Aku Mandinka	Fula Mandinka	Wolof Aku Mandinka	Wolof Aku	Wolof	Mandinka			Wolof
(C4) L/Education	Arabic English	Arabic English	Arabic English	English	English	Arabic English	Arabic French	Wolof	A little English then sent to convent in St. Louis (S).
(C5) L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	English	English	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	French/ Latin
(C6) LWC (A5)	Wolof Aku Mandinka	Wolof Aku Mandinka	Wolof Aku Mandinka	Wolof Aku	Wolof	Wolof	Jola Foni	Arabic	Wolof
(C7) WLs	Wolof with Senegalese officials (but sometimes uses an interpreter). English or Wolof with President. Wolof with other ministers, Mandinka in constituency.	English/ French interpretation in S/G meetings, but recently gave a speech in Wolof. English or Wolof with Gambian colleagues. Fula or Serahuli in constituency.	English only used if being very formal. prefers to use Wolof, Mandinka or Aku depending on language of colleagues; has generally relied on interpreters at S/G meetings but Wolof quicker & easier.	English with boss, Wolof or Aku with colleagues. Used to depend on interpretation in S/G meetings but now uses Wolof.	English main WL. Sometimes uses Aku or Wolof with visitors. Takes notes on S/G meetings from English/ French/ Wolof.	Uses Wolof whenever possible at S/G meetings. English "a more formal language" but usage depends on context. In charge of radio broadcasting in which Wolof, Mandinka & English are used.	In administration uses Wolof. Otherwise French for official meetings. Uses interpreter with Jola Foni inhabitants used Wolof with counterpart in local government across the border.	French in all administrative business. With friends might switch to Wolof. In S/G meetings have to use OLs but use of Wolof would enhance closer co-operation.	French in administration. Used to teach English. Member of education delegation in which Wolof used but occasionally had to interpret for Minister as some specialised vocabulary in English.
(C8) OL1	English	English	English	English	English	English	French	French	French
(C9) OL2	-	Understands a little.	A little.	French from school certificate & 1st year university	Studied at Alliance Française, Banjul	A little	Some English from secondary education	A little but regretted lack of fluency.	English (university degree & teacher)
(C10) S/G LWC	Wolof (occasionally uses French/ English interpretation)	Wolof English/ French interpretation	Wolof English/ French interpretation	Wolof French	Wolof some French	Wolof English/ French interpretation	Wolof a little English	Wolof French/ English interpretation	Wolof English French
(E) Comments	prefers to use Wolof rather than interpreters	Thought English & French more important for S/G meetings. Wolof "a minority language" that those in provinces may not understand well.	Reluctant to use English even in office - as imposes a certain distance.	Can read correspondence in French but is "afraid to use it"	Understands French but shy about speaking.	Joint ORTS/ Radio Gambia production 'Cosaani Senegambi' has Wolof commentary.			Senegalese nationality as father only temporarily transferred to Banjul by French firm.

Table I: Government Representatives involved in Senegalo-Gambian Meetings: Linguistic Flexibility in the Interests of International Co-operation.

LANGUAGE USAGE AND OCCASIONAL MOBILITY

Tables

4.2. Language usage in Catholicism and Islam in Senegal and the Gambia.

Introduction.

Religious unity can be identified across the Senegambian region through the particular pattern of language usage that has arisen in the propagation of Islam and Catholicism.[1] Contrasting attitudes to the function of local, liturgical and official languages, as the media for religious devotion and educational work, emerge from the following two studies, but the impact of both faiths is dependent ultimately on the individual's ability to reach a high level of understanding in a new language. The fundamental difference in emphasis is that for Islam the target language of traditional religious instruction, and the language of formal public worship and liturgy, is the classical Arabic of the Qur'ān. On the other hand, in Catholicism, the target language of the wider educational system (with its more secular orientation), relates not only to public worship and biblical study, but is also the official language of government.

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1. Catholicism has been chosen for examination, rather than the Protestant churches (i.e. the Methodist or Anglican missions to the Gambia), because it has made a larger impact on both countries. From figures in the World Christian Handbook (1968), the Catholics emerge clearly as the major Christian group in the Gambia, but unfortunately neither the census for 1963 or 1973 included questions on religious affiliation. In Senegal the 1970/71 enquiry revealed 4,80% as 'Chrétien', as opposed to 92,24% of the total population being 'Musulman', The earlier census (1960/61) made a distinction between Catholic and Protestant groups as being 5,63% and 0,06% of the total population, respectively (Information the courtesy of the Direction de la Statistique, Ministère des Finances et des Affaires Economiques, Dakar).

This difference in linguistic objective can be attributed to the propagation of the two faiths either in complete antipathy to, or in close association with, colonial educational strategy in Senegal and the Gambia. The early implantation of Islam in the region gained impetus during the nineteenth century from the holy wars (jihāds) led by Cheikh Omar Tall (1854-1857) and Ma Bâ Diakhou (1861-1867), but this militancy came into conflict with first French, and then British interests in extending their authority over the area. Other marabouts[1] continued to follow a more peaceful, itinerant life-style, establishing allegiances with talibés[2] (disciples) regardless of the emergence of new boundaries, or attempts by the French authorities to regulate their activities.[3] The complementary

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1. Jobson (1623, reprinted 1968:78) provides an early reference to the "Marybuckes on the Gambia River." Dumont,F., (1974:224,fn.17) associates the term with the colloquial Arabic mrabou, which is derived from the classical Arabic murabit: 'someone in a fortified place' having both military and pious duties in the propagation of Islam. For a discussion of the evolution of the marabout's socio-clerical function in the community, see Monteil, V. (1964: pp.137-139) and Dumont, F. (1975:pp.36-38).

2. Talibé is also derived from Arabic. Dumont,F. (1974:59,fn.3) cites its origin as tâlib (pl. tulbâ), meaning disciple.

3. The French differed from the British by becoming involved in Muslim affairs, in reaction to the potential political threat that the marabouts embodied at a local level after the decline in authority of the traditional chiefs. They unsuccessfully attempted to regulate their fundamental role as Quranic teachers (Bouche, 1974; 1975), and closely monitored the movements of itinerant marabouts through the central political bureau of Afrique Occidentale Française during the first part of this century (Behrman, 1970:35). In some cases, migration into the Gambia appears to have been a convenient alternative when relations between the marabout and the colonial authorities (and/or their local representative) had deteriorated. e.g. Sait Maty Bâ (section 6.2.1.); Serigne Mass Kâ (section 6.2.4.); Serigne Abdoulaye Niass (See ARS, 13 G68: Gouvernement Général de l'A.O.F., Cercle de Kaolack, Surveillance des Marabouts sédentaires, Feuille de renseignements, 11 mars 1914; and Klein, 1968:224).

roles of Arabic and local languages in Islamic practice throughout Senegambia has therefore contributed to the continuing solidarity between Muslims in the area, that is epitomized by affiliation to the same tarīqa.[1] In contrast, despite the early activities of French Catholic missionaries in both Senegal and the Gambia,[2] this faith has retained less unity as a 'Senegambian' religion, because of the way in which language usage has evolved in association with colonial educational strategy. The role of Latin (which has served, like Arabic, as a Senegambian language of wider communication in its liturgical function), has declined; whereas the current inter-relationship between local languages and the language of formal worship has less unifying potential, since the latter reflects different official languages of government.

Senegambian languages have been influenced in varying degrees by the impact of the particular linguistic strategy used to propagate these two religions. The process of linguistic borrowing, that can occur when two languages

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1. This Arabic term, meaning 'Way' (in the mystical sense) has been loosely translated as 'confrérie' (brotherhood) during the colonial epoch (Dumont,F., 1974:210,fn.1), even though the more stratified, centralised organisation, implied by the European terminology, has been a more recent evolution (cf. Cruise O'Brien,D., 1971:24,fn.3). The way in which the main Senegambian brotherhoods: the Tijāniyya, Qādiriyya and Muridiyya, operate in the two countries will be discussed in section (4.2.2.), p. 191.

2. See pp. 174, 175.

co-exist within the same speech community (Weinreich, 1953), has been illustrated by the absorption into Senegambian languages of many Arabic derivatives. Languages of Senegambian ethnic groups, such as Wolof, Fula,[1] Mandinka[2] and Serahuli have been profoundly affected by the impact of Islam over several centuries (Samb, 1971:497); but Wolof can be identified as the Senegambian language of wider communication whose lexical items reflect both Islamic[3] and Christian[4] influences. The fundamental impact of Islam can be illustrated by the integration of Arabic loan-words, not only into religious domains, but also into social interchange involving Christian, as well as Muslim Wolophones throughout Senegambia.[5] Christian influences on the Wolof language only date from the nineteenth century, but have resulted in the adoption of French loan words

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1. On the political and social impact of Islam on the Tukulor, see Wane, Y., Les Toucouleur du Fouta Tooro, IFAN, Dakar, 1969, pp.183-186. On lexical items derived from Arabic, see Bâ, O., 'Glossaire des mots étrangers passés en Poulâr du Fouta Toro', BIFAN, t.XXXV, sér.B, No.3, 1973, pp.675-711.

2. On lexical items derived from Arabic in Mandinka, see Gamble, D., 'Mandinka-English Dictionary' (Revised edition), Colonial Office, Research Department, London, January 1955, (cyc.).

3. See Mouradian, J. (1940), 'Notes sur quelques emprunts de la langue wolof à l'arabe' and Ndiaye,A. (1949), 'Compléments à une note sur les emprunts de la langue wolof à l'arabe' both reprinted in Manessy & Sauvageot, Wolof et Serer, Publications de la section de langues et littératures, No.12, Université de Dakar, 1963; Gouilly, A., L'Islam dans l'Afrique Occidentale Française, Larose, Paris, 1952, pp.207-220.

4. See Kobès, Guy-Grand & Abiven, Dictionnaires Français - Volof/Volof-Français, Vicaire Apostolique de la Senégambie, Mission Catholique, Dakar, 1922.

5. The most obvious examples occur in greetings and the days of the week.

for the expression of certain Christian concepts by both the Senegalese and Gambian Catholic churches. This can be attributed not only to the transfer of priests from Senegal to Gambian missions,[1] but also to the movement of Catholic traders and artisans from the Four Communes to St. Mary's Island,[2] who would have already been familiar with this terminology. The Wolof language has thus evolved to reflect a particular religious solidarity among the Catholic and the Muslim inhabitants of Senegambia. In one case, this solidarity has been restricted by colonial strategy, but the other case supercedes colonial, or national, spheres of influence, because of its much longer, more extensive impact on the Senegambian population as a whole.

4.2.1. Language and Catholicism in Senegambia.

The identity of interest between church and state in colonial strategy was recognised by the adoption of the term jango in Wolof to refer to both church and school. Since jango is derived from the verb jang: meaning to learn, or to study, the idea of a church in Wolof embodies the concept of learning about a religion. Church services are not only a public expression of faith, but also a means of access to the learning and understanding required by a religious upbringing or conversion. Church is thus considered

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1. Discussed more fully, p.175.
2. See section (4.3.).

to be largely coterminous with school, both being places of learning.[1]

Since both church and school necessitated the learning of the same second language, Christian missions to Senegambia could concentrate on the teaching of a target language, that embodied the formality of public worship, as well as being the official language of government. The liturgical language of the church was studied as a classical language in both countries, but the increasing use of the official language as a lingua franca in Gambian and Senegalese churches has been concomitant to the universal decline in the traditional ritual significance of Latin.

The propagation of Catholicism in Senegambia therefore involves a more complex pattern of language usage than the simpler juxta-position of a classical language and local Senegambian languages, that Islam has entailed. Apart from the decreasing role of the liturgical language, a distinction has to be made between the language in which the catechism is first learnt (which, in the cases of this study, happened to be the home language: Table III), the language of instruction at school (in which the catechism is subsequently studied), the language used for personal

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1. This terminology in Wolof does not extend to a similar association between mosque and school in Islam in that, although Samb (1972:98) cites 'jangu' as being a synonym for daara (Quranic school), the Lexique Wolof-Français (CLAD publication, No.42, 1976) lists an ordinary local, mosque as jàkka j-, and the main Friday mosque as jumaa j-. School is now more commonly referred to as lekol b- by Wolof-speakers in Senegal, thus contrasting with daara j- in its reflection of a different educational system and language medium.

confession and the language used for private prayer. For the practising Catholic, the most crucial problem in language usage can arise from the language used for public worship, the language used for confession and the language used for private prayer. Participation in the first case depends on the level of his formal education, whereas preference for reverting to the home language in the second case can only be sustained if the priest has a deep understanding of the same medium. With such a large percentage of the population deprived of a formal education,[1] the Catholic church has developed the strategy of teaching the catechism in a familiar, local language, translating the sermon from the main language of public worship into a more widely understood lingua franca, and providing priests who are fluent in the language of church ritual, the official language of public worship, and the main lingua franca of the population.

The 'Frenchness' of the early Catholic missions to the Gambia may have instigated the striking distinction in terminology used by the older generation of Wolophone Muslims in Banjul to differentiate jango faransé (the Roman Catholic church in Hagan Street) from jango angélé (the Anglican church in MacCarthy Square). The same phenomenon is not evident in Senegal, perhaps because the Protestant churches have not had the same impact, and consequent competitive role, as their counterparts in the Gambia. The extension of the Roman Catholic mission from Senegal to the Gambia, with Mere Javouhey directing the philanthropic

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1. See p. 204, fn.2.

activities of the Nuns of the order of St. Joseph de Cluny in St. Louis, Gorée and Banjul in 1823[1] was facilitated by close links between the early settlers on St. Mary's Island with Gorée.[2] A larger mission, consisting of three Holy Ghost Fathers and three nuns of the earlier order, arrived in 1849 to establish the Roman Catholic church in Banjul (Gray, 1940:384). French missionaries thus dominated the church until they were replaced by the Irish branch of the Holy Ghost Fathers, prior to the separation of the diocese of the Gambia from Senegal in 1929. The origin of the religious categories farànsé and angèlé was therefore attributed by some Gambian informants to the different nationalities of the founding missions. Muslim migrants from Senegal could perhaps have made this antithesis on recognising that the church, which they identified as farànsé in their territory of origin, was also organised by French fathers and nuns in the Gambia. The use of these religious categories would have consequently

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1. On this connection between the teaching and nursing order of St. Joseph de Cluny in Senegal and the Gambia, see Gray (1940:315); Gaucher (1968:93). Hannah Kilham refers in her journal on 23 December, 1823 (1837:188) to the funeral of one of the French nuns who had been working in the hospital, noting that "another has since arrived from Senegal to supply the place of the deceased." Fyfe (1962:151) comments that Mère Javouhey extended her visit to Senegal to include the Gambia and Sierra Leone, on Governor MacCarthy's invitation. She re-organised the hospital in Banjul, before going to Freetown where she re-organised the hospital for the Liberated Africans.

2. See section (4.3.3.1.), p. 229.

arisen from the association of the Catholic and Protestant churches with particular colonial strategies.

Other Gambian informants attributed the origin of this antithesis to the French/Senegalese or English/Aku background of the majority of their congregations during the latter half of the last century. The term farànsé could apply to the Catholic church, not only because of the large numbers of expatriate staff formerly employed by French companies in the Gambia,[1] but also because of Catholics of Senegalese origin. It is still common to hear Senegambian migrant workers referred to as farànsé, angèlé, or portugé,[2] because of the 'nationality' they acquired under their former colonial administration. Apart from the Muslim Wolof from the north, substantial numbers of migrants into Banjul came from Mulatto,[3] Serer, Jola Foñi[4] and Jola Kasa backgrounds, where the Catholic mission had been particularly influential.[5]

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1. See section (4.3.2.).
2. Although 'portuguese' originally applied to those of Portuguese/Mulatto origin (de la Courbe, 1685, re-edited 1913:192,251), it is now used for anyone from Guinea-Bissau.
3. See section (4.3.3.).
4. See section (5.1.4.).
5. i.e. Gorée and St. Louis (Mulatto); La Petite Côte (Serer); Bignona (Jola Foñi); Oussouye (Jola Kasa).

Jango angëlé could originally be used by the Muslim Wolof to refer to the Wesleyan chapels as well as the Anglican church in Banjul, but the Aku christians have preferred to discriminate between 'Weslem' (the chapel in Dobson Street), 'Betel' (the chapel subsequently built in Stanley Street) and 'King church' (St. Mary's Pro-Cathedral in MacCarthy Square). The last term arises during the early part of this century, because of the Governor's role as the representative of the King, and his customary attendance of this church, accompanied by leading members of his administration.[1] Since so many Aku of Liberated African descent[2] attended either the Wesleyan or the Anglican church, Muslim Wolof also referred to these churches as jango akwi, but the term jango angëlé has become restricted in usage to the Anglican church, and so is therefore synonymous with 'King church'.

Although the name jango faransé is still used in Banjul, it is more common to refer to the church in Hagan Street as jango Katolik or jango gurmeti. This latter adjective arises from the term grëmeti/gurmé/gurmeti (de la Courbe, 1685; Durand, 1802; Boilat, 1853).[3] It is Senegambian

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1. The Church Missionary Society provided the first chaplain for the British garrison in 1821, but the Anglican church in MacCarthy Square was not built until 1900/1901. The Society of Friends and the Wesleyan/Methodist mission also sent missionaries in 1821 (Gray, 1940:pp.311-315; Prickett, n.d.:13).

2. On the use of this term, see p.245.

3. Although both Cultru (1913:232,fn.3) and Kobès (1923) have defined gurmeti as 'commis de factorerie' and 'les noirs de la colonie qui faisaient les entremetteurs entre les negociants blancs et les indigenes', the common denominator from a variety of sources seems to be Catholicism (de la Courbe, 1685; Durand, 1802 ; Baron Roger, 1823; Boilat, 1853; Kobès, 1855). This term has probably been misunderstood because early usage often included Catholic Mulattoes (de la Courbe, 1685:235,251) or Catholic Mulattoes and 'Noirs Libres' (Boilat, 1853:5) working as commercial traitants

in usage since it features wherever the Wolof language is used, especially in centres such as Gorée, St. Louis or Ziguinchor, where the Catholic population can be identified as a substantial group apart from the Muslims. The appelation 'Kerten' exists in both Senegalese and Gambian varieties of Wolof,[1] as a deformation of the more general term 'chrétien' (F.), which is sometimes mistakenly equated with the term 'grèmeti'. The latter was applied in Senegal to the Catholics as opposed to the Muslims, since there were no other Christian missions, and so it came to be identified with the Catholic church in Banjul. The term may be derived from 'gourmet' (F.), in that the Catholic converts differed from the Muslims in dress and by modifying their eating and drinking habits, but the Gambian Catholics prefer the international epithet, in calling their church jango Katolik.

The Aku and the Wolof have thus developed their own terminology either in association with, or in opposition to, the different Christian churches in Banjul. Both the use of 'King church' and 'jango faràngé/jango angélé' illustrate an awareness of the identity of interest between church, state, and education, in the development of the colony. It has not been paralleled in Senegal, because there has been a simpler distinction in religious allegiances between Islam and Catholicism.

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1. See Kobès and Abiven (1923); Roman Catholic Hymn Book, Banjul, hymn no.86: 'Jangu Kerten vav nanu ko sopa lol' ('The Christian church should always be loved') and hymn no.92: 'Vav, Kerten la' ('Yes, I'm a Christian').

From the earliest days of its implantation in Senegambia, the Catholic church has stressed the importance of missionaries speaking local languages for evangelisation purposes,[1] with the other Christian missions in the Gambia envying the advantage they could gain by transferring fluent Wolof-speaking missionaries from Senegal.[2] Although the French language was seen as the essential key to becoming Catholic, and hence to the appreciation of French civilisation and culture, the priests realised that the successful outcome of their mission depended on an initial understanding of Catholic dogma by potential converts. The catechism was therefore studied first of all in a major lingua franca (Table III: C53)[3], and so it is not surprising that some of the earliest studies of Wolof, Serer, Jola Foñi and Jola Kasa have been undertaken by priests seeking to communicate more satisfactorily with their congregations.[4]

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1. See, for example, Gravrand (1961:58).

2. See, pp.174,175.

3. Abbé Boilat (1853:pp.18-19) cites translations into Wolof of the catechism and hymns by Abbés Lambert and Fridoil, which were subsequently adopted by Catholic missionaries throughout Senegambia. See also the list prepared by Gamble (1967:pp.83-84) of religious literature produced by Roman Catholic missions in the area.

4. e.g. Kobes, Mgr.A. Dictionnaire français-wolof (1855), revised for new edition by Abiven, R.P.O. (1923); Guy-Grand, V.-J., Dictionnaire francais-volof, precede d'un abrégé de la grammaire volofe, Imprimerie de la Mission, Dakar, 1922; Lamoise, P. Dictionnaire de la langue sérère (1873), Grammaire de la langue serère avec des exemples et des exercices (1873); Wintz, R.P., Dictionnaire francais-dyola et dyola-francais precedé d'un essai de grammaire, Mission Catholique, Elinkine, Paris, 1909; Weiss, R.P.H., Grammaire et lexique diola du fogny (Casamance), BIFAN,t.1, no.2-3, avril-juillet 1939, pp.412-578.

The linguistic repertoires of the Senegalese Catholic priests interviewed in Casamance illustrate the complexity of the speech communities into which they were born, and among which they were working after advanced training in Northern Senegal and Europe. Apart from similar education and advanced religious studies through the medium of French, with Latin studied as a classical language; the Casamançais priest has an advantage over his European counterpart in the area by speaking several local lingue franche (Table II: C7). While, in some cases, these would be the languages of their home environment, the propensity to enhance their linguistic repertoires for evangelical purposes is illustrated by their acquisition (or consolidation) of the lingue franche of their previous parishes. Language choice in sermons was in every case dependent on the dominant lingua franca of the congregation, with the priest's linguistic flexibility essential for preaching in different churches because of the multilingual diversity of Casamance.

Despite the significance of Jola Foñi, Jola Kasa, Mandinka and Wolof as languages of wider communication in Ziguinchor, all the Catholic inhabitants interviewed stressed the special relationship between the Portuguese-based Crioulo language and their churches in the town. Since the Mulatto traders, with whom this language has been associated in Senegambia, were also characterised by their Catholic

affiliations;[1] the language probably evolved through the trading and evangelising activities of the Portuguese from the fifteenth century onwards.[2] In Ziguinchor the development of Crioulo as a first, and second, language has ensured its continuing role in the teaching of the catechism, and as one of the main preaching languages in the Catholic church. One priest pointed out that it used to have prestigious connotations among new converts to the faith, with "Parler 'Portuguais'" (i.e. Crioulo) taken to be the mark of "l'homme civilisé" in contrast to "le broussard" (the village farmer with no formal education). Since French became the target language of the formal education system, and the official language of both church and government, after Ziguinchor was ceded by the Portuguese to France in 1888;[3] the continuing status of Crioulo as a lingua franca, within the Catholic community in the town,

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1. References to the use of a Portuguese-derived Pidgin as a trading language in Senegambia (and in the rivers south of Ziguinchor) include Jobson (1623, reprinted 1968:37), Sieur de la Courbe (1685, reprinted 1913: 192,251), Moore (1738: 29,39). It is evident from these sources that this language was the mother-tongue of Mulatto traders who identified as Portuguese Catholics. Moore (1738:29) specifically refers to the continuing link between Portuguese Catholic priests and this Mulatto trading element on the River Gambia who "christen and marry by the Help of a Priest sent yearly over hither from S. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd Islands." Since he describes their language as "Creole Portuguese, a bastard Sort of Portuguese, scarce understood in Lisbon; but it is sooner learnt by Englishmen than any other Language in this River, and is always spoken by the Linguists, which serve both the separate Traders and the Company...", it is likely that the priest would have communicated with them through the same medium.

2. Delcourt (1976:10) cites the 'Droit de Patronat' that the Portuguese missionaries acquired in the area from Popes Martin V, Nicholas V and Alexander VI.

3. In accordance with the Franco-Portuguese convention of 12 May 1886. See Roche, C., 'Ziguinchor et son passé (1645-1920)', Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa, Vol. XXVIII, No.109, January 1973, pp.47-50.

perhaps reflects their intra-group solidarity amidst competing ethno-cultural and Muslim influences.[1]

The other major preaching languages: Jola Foñi and Jola Kasa, do not have the same Senegambian historical associations with the Catholic church, but they are used because they are the home languages of a substantial number of the Catholic inhabitants of Bignona, Ziguinchor and Basse Casamance. While affirming that Jola Foni is the dominant home language around Bignona, whereas Jola Kasa serves as a first or second language in the Oussouye area; the priests interviewed were reluctant to identify Jola Foñi, rather than Jola Kasa, as the more significant lingua franca in Ziguinchor. Nevertheless, since they agreed that it was easier for Jola Kasa-speaking people to understand Jola Foni, than vice versa,[2] it may often prove more expedient to use the latter for preaching in this town.

The roles of the other two Senegambian languages of wider communication: Mandinka and Wolof, were less important to these missionaries for religious and cultural reasons. In Casamance, the Mandinka have been closely identified with Islam (Marty:1913, vol.1:367), and with past aggressive jihāds against the Jola (led by leaders such as Fodé Kaba Doumbouya)[3] in attempts to islamise the area. Although peaceful methods

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1. Its role as a language of communication in the Ziguinchor area was enhanced during the war of liberation in neighbouring Guinea-Bissau by migrants speaking Crioulo as a second language.

2. cf. Sapir, J. David (1965), Introduction.

3. See Pélissier, P. (1966, ch.15); Roche, C. (1974).

of conversion[1] were subsequently more successful (Leary, 1971:241), the association between the Mandinka and Islamic influence in Casamance is probably derived from their militancy in the latter part of the nineteenth century. An example of the threat that the Mandinka embodied was given by a Jola Foñi informant from Bignona. He described how he had been discouraged by the Catholic mission, as a schoolboy twenty years ago, from associating with the Mandinka in the 'Basen' quarter of town, which had resulted in his unfamiliarity with their language.[2]

Despite the infiltration of Wolof traders, coming via Karabane, into certain villages of Basse Casamance,[3] and the transfer of Wolof personnel to the Casamance branches of French companies based in St. Louis and Gorée; Wolof has had less local significance than Mandinka. This is partly because its influence has remained commercial and administrative, rather than cultural. Consequently,

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1. The phenomenon of the 'Mandingised Jola' (Thomas, 1957: 795) emerged during the aftermath to these jihāds, as the newly converted inhabitants, in villages in a band stretching from the Soungrougrou to Kafountine, became assimilated to Manding culture and the Islamic faith. In many cases, the Jola in this area identified themselves with the superior civilisation that the marabouts, heralding the new religion, seemed to embody (See Pélissier, 1966:pp.797-803).

2. The religious affiliations of the inhabitants of Bignona used to determine which part of town they lived in, with the Catholics tending to congregate in 'Manguiling', whereas the Muslim community were to be found in 'Basen'. Although none of those interviewed supported Thomas, L.V. (1957:508) in his distinction between the varieties of Jola Foñi that he identified in each of these quarters of Bignona; it was generally agreed that Mandinka is more frequently heard in Basen, whereas few Catholics in Manguiling would speak that language.

3. e.g. Boukot Ouolof, Diakène Ouolof, Elinkine, Santiaba, Sam Sam, Loudia Ouolof.

although its growing significance in an urban context has been noted in Ziguinchor (as in most other towns in Senegal),[1] its prestige as a lingua franca suffers from its identification with Northern Senegal, from which the Casamançais traditionally feel separate. Its wide diffusion among school children[1] may modify these antipathies, but, in the meantime, the Catholic church continues to give priority to the first languages of the majority of its congregation, that also serve as lingue franche. The religious, political, commercial and geographical connotations of Mandinka and Wolof, as languages of wider communication in Casamance, thus consolidate the continuing use of Crioulo, Jola Foñi and Jola Kasa as media for the work of the Catholic mission.

Catholic church services in Senegal and the Gambia are generally dominated by the official language underlining the formality of public worship, but this medium cannot be used exclusively if the church is to welcome those with no formal education. English or French therefore plays the liturgical role for these people that Latin formerly monopolised, but even those who understand a little of the official language can be made to feel more involved by the

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1. The "phénomène urbain" of the expansion of Wolof has been assessed by Francois Wioland, Enquête sur les langues parlées au Sénégal par les élèves de l'enseignement primaire, CLAD, No. XI, 1965. Out of 3,307 pupils interviewed in Ziguinchor, 80,04% were Wolophone (33,93% as a first language; 46,11% as a second language). In the Département of Ziguinchor beyond the town, only 17,33% of the pupils interviewed were Wolophone (see p.181 and p.205).

use of their home language for hymn singing and for the explanation of the sermon.

However, the situation changes when language usage is examined among Casamançais priests in contact with the Gambia. Language choice is determined by the lingue franche used by migrant groups and their descendants who form a substantial part of the Catholic congregation. The development of Wolof as the main lingua franca in Banjul has not had the same political or commercial associations evident in Ziguinchor, so that the role of this medium in the establishment of the Catholic church has embodied greater initial potential than any other first or second language of the local population. Some of the Wolof, or Wolof-speaking traders from Gorée and St. Louis were probably already converted to Catholicism when they migrated to Banjul after the foundation of the new colony, and so are likely to have constituted the nucleus of the early congregation. Wolof is still used as a preaching language alongside the official language in Catholic churches in St. Mary's, but Jola Foñi is also used in sermons and in hymn singing, as the first language of the large numbers of migrants from the Bwiam (G) and Casamance (S) regions. Since many of these migrant workers originate from the Bignona and Oussouye areas in which Catholicism is well established,[1] they tend to identify with the Catholic church on arrival. The language that the Senegalese priests had used most frequently in informal contact with Gambian Catholics

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1. Delcourt (1976:pp.104-106) describes the phenomenal expansion of Catholicism around Bignona and Oussouye 1945-1965.

therefore tended to be Jola Foñi (II:C10). Although two of them had used their English (from their university education) for preaching purposes, only one had also used Wolof in this Senegambian context. The others claimed that, although they had studied in Northern Senegal, their knowledge of Wolof had not developed from contact with other seminarists, because it was mission policy to insist on the exclusive use of French in social, as well as academic activities.

The problem of training local clergy has been accentuated by linguistic problems when Gambians have been sent to Senegal, with the intention of entering a seminary or convent. They have consequently had to master French as the official language of their training institute, but, among the (6) cases cited of those who had had this experience, a variety of factors had mitigated against their return to the Gambia as priests or nuns. Despite the efforts of individual priests to learn a local language, the Gambian Catholic mission continues to suffer from a lack of local clergy, fluent in several Senegambian languages, which hampers their evangelising function, as well as their ability to hear confession in the home language in which the person feels most at ease.

The problem the language of private confession is clearly illustrated by the different responses to this question in Table III (C5.4). It is complicated in Banjul by the varying levels of proficiency, evident among the congregation in the official language, and among the Irish clergy in the dominant lingua franca. (5) informants always used English, specifically because they considered

their English to be more fluent than the priest's Wolof, but the drawback is apparent when (3) of these admitted that they would use Wolof for confession on visits to Senegal. The majority of the informants would prefer to use Wolof (8/10), since in the words of one informant: "It is my own language, the language I have been brought up with. And if I am truly sorry for something, I can express it better in Wolof, rather than English, which is a borrowed language." (4) informants thus sometimes used Wolof, sometimes English, but only one woman used Wolof exclusively, because of her limited knowledge of the official language. The dimension of this dilemma in language usage in a personal, emotional context, emerges from the replies to the question on private prayer, which elicited a universal preference for the main home language.

The problem of accommodating both the official language and local languages within the Catholic church has led to certain rigid distinctions in usage, The attitude of the Catholic mission to the official language of government, which is used as the medium for training their seminarists, has consequently influenced language usage by the Casamançais priests. The emphasis in their education on the close association between French culture, religion and language, has resulted in the use of French for informal, as well as academic contact in the seminary. In training at Ngazobil (S), for example, one priest described how the use of French was obligatory at all times, apart from some free time on Sundays when "nos dialèctes" were sanctioned. He emphasized that they became so used to speaking French among themselves that few took up this opportunity to use

their home language within the mission precincts. At a lower level, the notorious practice of "le symbole"[1] had been adopted to elicit the use of the official language in a Junior Seminary, so that the pupil left with the symbole at the end of the day, was given additional household chores in punishment for speaking his own language. The priests interviewed justified the importance attached to speaking the official language, within the formal surroundings of the seminary, as part of the self-discipline that characterises training for the church; but it may also reflect the pejorative connotations of a hierarchy of languages fostered by colonial educational strategy.[1]

Language usage in the Catholic church reflects both an awareness of the relevance of certain lingue franche of the local speech community to their congregation, and a rigid categorisation of the functions of each of these languages in relation to the work of the mission. It would seem from patterns of language usage in preaching, and from the inclusion of hymns in Jola Foñi, Serer and Manjaku, that the Catholic church wants to ensure the direct participation of the major ethnic groups among its congregation. This is designed to evoke a more personal, response through the use of their home languages, instead of holding services exclusively in the official language and a particular lingua franca. This increasing localisation of the Catholic church is developing concomitant to the declining use of Latin as the liturgical language, and may be partly in reaction to the threat that Islam presents through its hold on the majority

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1. See pp. 52,53.

Table II: Casamancais Priests: Diverse Linguistic Repertoires in the Service of Catholicism

Background				
(A1) Age & Sex	M30+	M30+	M40+	M40+
(A2) Birthplace	Bignona	Ziguinchor	Tobor	Ziguinchor
(A3) Education	Seminaries - Ngazobil & Sebitokane (5)	Seminary & university of Strasbourg	Seminary	Seminary & University of Strasbourg
(A4) Occupation	Parish priest	Diocesan priest & English teacher	priest	Director of Junior Seminary
(A5) Residence	Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor	Bignona	Banjul
Senegambian Contact				
(B2) Occupation) (B3) Religion)	Went for ordination 1972.	Preached at Bakau 1975.	Preached at special service for Jola Foñi & Jola Kasa girls.	Director of junior seminary.
Language repertoire				
(C1) HL1	Jola Foñi	Jola Foñi	Bainuk	Jola Foñi (father), Crioulo & Jola Brin (mother & aunts)
(C2) HL2		Jola Kasa	Crioulo	
Other languages of home environment		Crioulo (at school & from an aunt in Guinea Bissau) Mandinka & a little Wolof	Jola Foñi, Mandinka, a little Wolof	
(C3) LWC (A2)	Jola Foñi	Jola Foñi, Jola Kasa, Wolof, Crioulo, Mandinka	Jola Foñi, Crioulo	Jola Foñi, Crioulo
(C4) L/Education	French	French	French	French
(C5.1) L/Religious liturgy	Latin	Latin	Latin	Latin
(C5.2) L/Public worship	French	French	French	French
(C6) LWC (A5)	Jola Foñi, Jola Kasa, Crioulo	Jola Foñi, Jola Kasa, Wolof, Crioulo, Mandinka	Jola Foñi, Wolof, Mandinka	Wolof
(C7.1) WLs-PLs	Crioulo & Jola Foñi/ French & Crioulo/French & Jola Foñi (Tilène, Ziguinchor)	Crioulo & Jola Foni/(Tilene) French & Crioulo (cathedral) Crioulo (Nicme quarter, Ziguinchor & Niaguis)	French & Jola Foñi (Bignona), Bainuk (Tobor) or Jola Foñi if congregation includes people from Koubalan & Diagobel	Wolof, Jola Foñi, Crioulo & English
(C7.2) Previous PLs/LWCs	Jola Kasa (Oussouye & Mlomp)	-		French, Crioulo, Jola Foñi (Ziguinchor) Susu & some Malinké & Fula (Kindia-Guinea)
(C8) OL1	French	French	French	French
(C9) OL2	-	English (teacher)	-	English (part of degree)
(C10) S/G LWC	Another Casamançais priest preached in English (B2). He spoke informally to congregation in Jola Foñi	English (B2). Spoke to congregation afterwards in English, Jola Foñi & Wolof	Jola Foñi (B2)	English, Jola Foñi, Wolof
E Comments	Translated the mass into Jola Foñi & Jola Kasa. At present translating the mass & gospels into Crioulo.		Not enough Wolof to preach	Has taught French, Latin & English at Seminary in Ziguinchor
	II:1	II:2	II:3	II:4

Table II: Casamançais Priests: Diverse Linguistic Repertoires in the Service of Catholicism

Background										
A1 Age & Sex	M50+	F40+	F60+	F60+	F50+	M50+	M60+	F60+	M60+	M60+
A2 Birthplace	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	St.Louis	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul
A3 Education	Secondary & Technical	Secondary & teacher training	Primary in Dakar & Banjul	Convent: Dakar Primary: Banjul	Secondary & teacher training	Primary	Primary & secondary	Primary	Primary	Primary
A4 Occupation	Store-keeper	Former teacher	Housewife	Ex-secretary	Teacher & play group organiser	Teacher	Retd. social welfare officer	Housewife	Retd. store-keeper	Court inter-preter
A5 Residence	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Bakau	Banjul	Kin in Dakar	Banjul	Banjul
Senegambian contact										
B1 Kin & affines	Kin & affines in Casa-mance & SineSaloum	Kin in Joal. Grand-father migrated to Banjul.	Grand-parents from Goree. Kin in Dakar.	Mother from Rufisque Kin in Kaolack Dakar.	Kin & affines in Kaolack & Dakar	Kin in St.Louis	Kin in Gorée & Casamance	Father Senegalese	Kin in Dakar & Ziguinchor	Grand-parents from Gorée.
B2 Occupation	-	-	-	Worked for French company.	-	Military service in Senegal	Catechist in Casamance	-	-	-
B3 Religion	-	-	-	-	-	-	Went to Dakar to train as seminarist for 2 yrs.	Rome 1975 with Sene-galese delegation	-	-
B4 Education	-	-	2 yrs in Dakar	Convent in Dakar	-	-			-	-
B5 Health	-	Spent 3 years tradi-tional medical treatment	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Language repertoire										
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2	English	-	-	-	-	-	-	Aku	English	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof, Aku	Wolof, Aku, Mandinka.	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof Aku	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof, Aku, Mandinka.	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education	English	English	French English	French English	English	English	English	English	English	English
C5 L/Religion										
C5,1 L/liturgy	Latin (1 year at school)	Explana-tion in Wolof)	-	Latin	Latin	Latin	Latin	Latin	Latin	Latin (explana-tion in Wolof)
C5,2 L/Public Worship	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English
C5,3 L/Cat.	Wolof, then English.	Wolof, then English.	Wolof, then English.	Wolof, then French.	Wolof & English.	Wolof, then English.	Wolof, then English.	Wolof, then English.	Wolof, then English.	Wolof, then English.
C5,4 L/Confess.	English	Wolof or English	Wolof	English	English (but Wolof in S.)	Wolof or English	English or Wolof	English or Wolof	English or Wolof	English
C5,5 L/Private Prayer	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof Aku	Wolof Aku Mandinka	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof Aku Mandinka	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	English & Wolof	English	Wolof	French & English	Wolof Aku Mandinka	English	English	Wolof Aku		Interprets English Wolof, Fula Mandinka.
C8 OL1	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English
C9 OL2	A little (3 yrs' French at school).	-	has forgot-ten French.	French	French	Picked up some French in the army.	French learnt from 2 years in Dakar.	-	-	-
C10 S.'G LWC	Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1 & B5) but picked up some Sere-Sine (B1)	Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1) French (B2)	Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1) Wolof or French (B2)	Wolof (B1) Jola Kasa (B1 & B2) French (B3 & B4)	Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1)	Wolof
E Comments		(C5,4) depends on priest's ability in Wolof.			Taught catechism in Wolof. Rome 1975.	Catechist in Wolof & inter-prets sermon & Bible reading into Wolof (Bakau).			(C5,4) depends on priest's ability in Wolof	Rome 1975
	III:1	III:2	III:3	III:4	III:5	III:6	III:7	III:8	III:9	III:10

Table III: Banjul Catholics: The Inter-relationship between English, Latin and Wolof in the Exercise of their Religion

of the population in Senegambia. Although High Mass is occasionally held in Latin, and prayers, like Te Deum and Kyrie Eleison are sometimes sung in Latin, the Gambian Catholics, who can follow with some understanding, are limited to the clergy and the older educated generation, now that Latin has been withdrawn from the secondary school curriculum. This does not apply to Senegal, where Latin remains a classical language option, but, despite its role as a unifying language between Catholics from all over the world (with (3) informants (III:6,8,10) citing the example of the pilgrimage to Rome in 1975, in which High Mass had been celebrated in this language); its future as a world language is in jeopardy. The formality of the church service is thus being undermined by the need to evoke a more personal, local response, which is complicated in Senegambia by the diverse multilingual backgrounds of the congregations.

4.2.2. Language and Islam in Senegambia.

The fundamental religious unity fostered by Islam in Senegambia depends on a particular pattern of spiritual affiliation that has continued to evolve irrespective of national boundaries. Islam uses a common liturgical language, combined with Senegambian languages of wider communication, in order to maintain a cohesive inter-relationship between the talibé and his marabout. The latter is in turn associated with the cheikh (religious leader) or muqaddem (local representative)[1] of the sect. This series of affiliations

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1. Defined by Dumont, F. (1975:36,fn.; 1974:14,fn.7) as the area representative of the brotherhood, authorised by the Cheikh to transmit the wird to new participants.

is incorporated into the form of the tarīqa: the 'way' or path of religious devotion, that the Sufist movement instigated[1] through the intercession of a saintly spiritual leader. The tarīqa derives its impetus from the transmission to the talibés of the baraka (the redeeming grace and virtue)[2] of its founder, attributed to his descent from the Prophet through a spiritual 'chain of initiation'.[3] Tarīqa, such as the 'Qādiriyya', the 'Tijāniyya' and the 'Muridiyya' in Senegambia, are inter-related through their spiritual lineage,[4] but at a local level they have subdivided into different sects according to the allegiances that the charismatic virtue of a particular holyman has commanded.[5] These Islamic loyalties are further consolidated within the tarīqa, since the authority invested in the cheikh is subsequently inherited by his patrilineal descent, which enables his successor to retain the allegiance of his talibés. This hierarchical spiritual chain, with its

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1. See Cruise O'Brien, D. (1971:25).

2. See Monteil, V. (1964:137); Dumont, F. (1974:4, fn.14).

3. Dumont, F. (1974:8, fn.8; 84) translates this 'chaîne d'initiation' from the classical Arabic 'isnâd'. It entails the recitation of the wird and the dhikr (idem, 1975:93): the prayer formula and litany that characterise each tarīqa.

4. See Dumont, F. (1975:361), Diagram to show 'Quelques grandes étapes de l'itineraire confrérique en Afrique'.

5. e.g. El Hadj Malick Sy (1850-1922) in the propagation of the Tijāniyya Movement; Cheikh Admadou Bamba (1850?-1927), the founder of the Muridiyya; El Hadj Ibrahima Niass (1901-1975) the founder of Et-Tarbiyya. For notes on these clerics, see Samb,A., 'L'Islam et l'histoire du Sénégal', BIFAN, t, XXXIII, sér.B., no.3, juillet, 1971, pp.481-486.

antithesis between the authority of the cheikh and the affiliation of the talibé, has been explained at length in order to demonstrate the complex loyalties that Islam commands in the Senegambia region.

Apart from the Qãdiriyya, which retains close links with the same movement in Mauretania,[1] the influence of prominent Senegambian tarīqa has tended to spread from their centres in Senegal to the Gambia. The leading role of the Tijaniyya in the Gambia may be attributed to marabouts inspired by the activities of Cheikh Omar Tall and Ma Bâ Diakhou in the region. The latter's jihād in Sine Saloum during the 1860's resulted in the enforced migration of his son, Saït Maty Bà, to Bakau (G) in 1887.[2] The patrilineal descent of this branch of the Bâ family has been important as Muslim leaders in the Gambia, with both Saït Maty's son, Alhaji Wakka Fatou, and now his grandson, Alhaji Momadu Lamin, serving as Almamy of Banjul. The present incumbent's advanced Quranic studies, with Serigne Abdoulaye Niass in Kaolack (S) and Seydi Ababacar Sy (the Khalif General of the Tijāniyya in Senegal) at Tivaouane, have reinforced the Senegambian aspect of this tarīqa.

The sect that El Hadj Ibrahima Niass instigated, Et Tarbiyya,[3] is linked to the wider Tijāniyya movement through his father's connections.[4] It became particularly

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1. See Samb (1971:484); Le Soleil, 21.2.75; 26.2.75.
2. See section (6.2.1.).
3. See Samb (1971:485).
4. See p. 467.

significant through the international following that the late 'Serigne Baye Niass' (El Hadj Ibrahima Niass)[1] attracted, which included many Gambian as well as Senegalese, Malian, Ivorian, Mauretanian and Nigerian talibés (Quesnot, 1962:144 ; Behrman, 1970:119). This is re-iterated in the accounts of those who attended his ziara (reunion between the marabout and his talibés)[2], the gamu (meeting to commemorate the birth of the Prophet) and his funeral in 1975.[3]

Similar ziara and gamu, organised by the leaders of the other Senegambian tarīqa, necessitate the movement of talibés from the Gambia to their centres in Tivaouane, Touba, Ndassane or Medina-Gonasse (S). The Murid hold magals to commemorate events relating to the life of their founder, Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba (1850?-1927),[4] but the most important, the 'grand magal' of Touba, has become not only a pilgrimage in honour of the Cheikh and leading members of his family,[5] but also enhances the prestige of the

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1. 'Sériñ' is the Wolof title denoting a marabout, which is synonymous with the Fula title 'tierno'. Mauny (1952:62) derives it from the plural form of 'tierno': serenbe.
2. Dumont,F.(1975:37,fn.) describes a 'ziara' as either a pious visit that the talibés make to the marabout in order to offer donations, or the journey that the marabout makes to the main centres where his talibés are congregated. It can also be organised to a place that has particular significance to the tarīqa, such as the burial place of the founder or his patrilineal descent (see p. 211).
3. See Le Soleil, 23.1.75; 29.3.75; 31.7.75.
4. Magal (Wolof) is another word used for a religious festival or pilgrimage, but it appears to have become associated with the Murid in particular. Cruise O'Brien,D. (1971:115) lists four different magal celebrated by the Muridiyya each year.
5. Despite the conflicting versions of what aspect(s) of the Cheikh's life the grand magal celebrates (cf. Samb, 1969:733, 737; Cruise O'Brien,D.,1971:138,fn.1; Dumont,F.,1975:119), participation in this event by all Murid talibés has become essential (Samb,1969:736; Al-Naqar,1972:133).

current Khalif General, Serigne Cheikh Mbacké, since political figures join the talibés in paying their respects (Samb, 1969:749; Behrman,1970:2; Cruise O'Brien, D.,1971:277).

Although studies of the Muridiyya have tended to stress the socio-economic significance of this brotherhood in the Senegalese political context (Sy,C.T., 1969; Behrman, 1970; Cruise O'Brien,D.,1971), its national, rather than international, impact, has not prevented the presence of small numbers of talibés in neighbouring countries (Behrman, 1970:119). These appear to be mainly Senegalese migrant workers, who retain their allegiance to the tarīqa through the local representative of the Khalif,[1] In Banjul, for example, the Murid organise dā'hira (urban associations), in the same way as in any main Senegalese town,[2] which concentrate on religious singing (chants religieux),[3] collections in aid of the Khalif and arranging communal transport to the grand magal.

The significance of the tarīqa in Senegambia is enhanced by the common language policy that characterises religious education and mosque services in both countries.

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1. Noted by Dumont,F.(1975:87) and generally confirmed by personal interviews among the Murid in the Gambia: January, April, May, June and October, 1975.

2. Cruise O'Brien,D. (1971:239) cites the first Murid arriving in Banjul after the First World War, with another migrating from Senegal in 1931. The two dā'hira in Hagan Street and Perseverance Street, Banjul, date from 1958 and 1961 (Personal communication, El Hadj Cheikh Diop, Banjul, 9.10.75).

3. See Behrman (1970: Appendix C, p.197); Cruise O'Brien,D. (1971:pp.254-256).

The equation between the main language of formal worship and the language of ritual simplifies language usage in the mosque, since talibés have to concentrate on memorising liturgy in only one new language. The predominance given to the use of classical Arabic in Muslim services underlines its value as a world religion, so that Gambian Muslims can participate fully in public prayer in Senegalese mosques, and vice versa.

The particular emphasis on the learning of the liturgical language that dominates the mosque is reflected by the language teaching strategy used in traditional Quranic education. Learning with understanding, in order to practise the religion, emerges from the system of education described by the Muslim clerics in Table IV as two consecutive, rather than simultaneous, stages.[1] The primary objective is the memorisation of the Qur'ān, which culminates after four or five years in a public recitation of the entire work, before going on to its explanation (Fisher, 1969:249; Samb, 1972b:98). In learning the Qur'ān by heart, the dominant language of the daara (Quranic school)[2] is of minor importance, since it is not used initially to explain in the way that local languages emerged as the vehicle for understanding the basic precepts of the catechism among the Catholics interviewed in Table III. All the

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1. cf. Santerre's distinction (1973:31) between elementary and complementary levels of Quranic education in North Cameroon.

2. Talibés are attached to the concession of a particular marabout and do manual work as well as Quranic studies. Cruise O'Brien, D. (1971) derives daara from dar (Arabic): house or place. See chapter 8 (idem) on the Murid daara.

clerics had spent at least ten years studying Islam in the daara of a particular marabout (IV:A3), but they emphasized that they had had to concentrate on memorisation skills first of all. Apart from simple instructions from the teacher, the dominant lingua franca of the area thus tends to be used mainly for informal social contact outside the learning situation, so that it does not become significant as a teaching medium until the stage of exegesis is reached.

Traditional Quranic education continues to be organised without reference to national boundaries, so that talibés attend daaras from the Senegambian region at large. (6) informants had studied in the neighbouring country (IV: 4,5,6,7,8,10), while a renowned family of clerics in the Tijāniyya way, the Dème of Sokone (S) derived half of its daara in January, 1976, from the Gambia.[1] Since kinship ties are important in affiliation to a particular tarīqa, (7) of the informants had studied with an agnatic marabout (IV:1,2,3,4,7,8,10). It was also evident from the pattern of their Quranic education that they had moved from one teacher to another, as they reached the stage of studying Arabic language and culture in order to comment on the Qur'ān. This "master-seeking" (Fisher, 1969:249) enhances the understanding of Islamic traditions by referring to a renowned authority on specific branches of literary or legal studies.[2] Specialists in scientific fields are less common,

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1. Personal communication, Momadou Amadou Dème, Khalif, Sokone, 25.1.76.

2. The different branches of specialisation have been listed by Samb (1972a: pp.27-28), with subsequent reference (idem: 33) to the particular orientation of each of the main 'écoles littéraires'.

but one erudite informant had gained a reputation throughout Senegambia and Mauretania for his astronomical and mathematical expertise (IV:2).

Those (6) clerics who had daaras within their concessions thus emphasized that their initial objective was the teaching of Arabic as a liturgical target language. The predominant use of Wolof as a teaching medium for the exegesis of the Qur'ān reflects its role as a lingua franca in an ethnically heterogenous daara, rather than a majority of the talibés speaking Wolof as their first home language. It also reflects the wider speech community, since all but one of these daaras were based in towns or villages in which Wolof was the main lingua franca, the exception being a Tukulor village that had been founded by the grandfather of the marabout. In two villages in which Wolof was the main lingua franca, Fula was also used for teaching purposes, because the marabout preferred to speak his own language with talibés from Fulbe or Tukulor backgrounds.

Since the relationship between the marabout and his talibé subsists regardless of nationality, the question of how far ethnicity influences the chain of affiliation within a tarīqa is of more fundamental importance. The ethnic background of the Cheikh, his muqaddems and talibés could affect language usage at the ziara or gamu, in which they congregate. However, it was evident from the Tijan clerics interviewed, that the expedient option of adopting the dominant language of the locality, in order to consolidate their authority over the community, had modified their first language habits.[1]

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1. For example, see the Bâ family, section (6.2.1.).

Ethnicity can still affect affiliation to a particular marabout in that a Wolof, Tukulor, Soninke or Mandinka teacher may be more likely to attract talibés from a similar ethnic background. For example, Quranic education within the Gambian formal educational system has been undermined by the inclination that some Jahanka and Soninke parents still retain for sending their children to one of their own marabout, rather than to the 'unknown entity' of the state-appointed Quranic teacher in the local school.[1] Among the major Senegambian tarīqa, the only distinction arising from ethnic affiliation emerges from the tendency for the Murid to be associated with the Wolof in particular, while deriving little support from the Tukulor or Fulbe. This tendency appears to follow traditional patterns of affiliation, since Behrman's analysis (1970:pp.188-196) of data about early twentieth century marabouts confirms the assumption that the Muridiyya was a Wolof brotherhood in its inception. She concludes from information sheets compiled by the Commandants du Cercle, 1906-1913, for the political bureau of Afrique Occidentale Française, that "Wolof marabus were more likely to be Murids, and Tukulor marabus and those of other ethnic groups were less likely to become Murids." A similar impression about the ethnic

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1. An official Quranic Supervisor in the Gambia cited the preference that some Jahanka from Kiang (G) still have for sending their children to a particular Jahanka marabout in Pakau (S), as being one of the factors mitigating against local state school enrolment (Personal communication, Banjul, 19.11.75).

orientation of this particular tarīqa (Cruise O'Brien, D., 1971) is reinforced by statistical evidence from the 1950's.

Although the observation that the urban Murid "are almost all Wolof" (Cruise O'Brien, D., 1971:242) does not prevent the Tijāniyya and the Qādiriyya from drawing affiliations from this same ethnic group, representatives of the Grand Khalif in the Gambia confirmed that there were no Tukulor or Fulbe talibés in their Murid dā'hiras in 1975, but that there were a few Serer, Mandinka and Jola Foñi. However, it would be an over-simplification to conclude from the predominance of Wolof Murid that becoming Murid is synonymous with becoming Wolof (idem), since the exclusive use of this language for social inter-action between members of the tarīqa does not necessarily imply their complete assimilation to Wolof culture and customs. It would also be misleading to assume from the simple equation between the expansion of Islam and the expansion of Wolof that the former owes its wide diffusion to the use of this latter medium (Sene, 1973). Since the headquarters of the main tarīqa are based in Wolof-speaking areas (Touba, Tivaouane, Ndassane, Kaolack, Yoff), it would seem that their usage of this language may have combined with commercial, economic and social factors to accentuate its development as a Senegambian lingua franca. The wide currency of Wolof within Islamic associations in Senegambia does not mean that it has acquired connotations that prevent its usage by the Catholic church in the Gambia and Northern Senegal[1], but reflect its increasing significance as a language of

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1. See section (4.2.1.), p.179.

wider communication in many aspects of the speech community, irrespective of the association between this language and its original ethnic identity. Some leading figures in the Tijāniyya movement use Wolof, despite their Tukulor descent (e.g. El Hadj Abdoul Aziz Sy), but others still use Fula, as well as Wolof in contact with their talibés (IV:3,7). Mandinka, Fula and Serahuli have been retained as preaching languages in mosques where they are the language of the majority of the local population, so that if Wolof eventually becomes the exclusive Senegambian language used by Muslim clerics, this will reflect the increasingly heterogenous ethnic composition of the community, rather than any particular association with the implantation of Islam in Senegambia. Those clerics, who had retained Fula as a home language, either used Wolof as a preaching language because of its significance in the area (IV:3), or used it as a language of wider communication alongside their own language, because of the heterogenous ethnic backgrounds of their talibés(IV:7). Language usage within Senegambian tarīqas is thus linked not so much to ethnicity, as to the expedient usage of whatever language(s) dominate the locality as well as the linguistic repertoires of the talibés.

The primary objectives of Quranic education include reading and reciting in Arabic for liturgical purposes. Although in traditional Quranic teaching the use of this language for conversation is not stressed, (5) informants (IV:1,2,5,8,10) claimed to have some oral fluency. Such expertise tends to be limited (Monteil, V., 1964; Samb, 1972b), so that it is not surprising that these clerics admitted that they would not use Arabic for social contact with each

be used. (2) informants (IV:1,2) cited the use of classical Arabic in oral communication with non Wolof-speaking Mauretanian marabouts, when referring to a link with the neighbouring country that has been influential in the development of Islamic teaching in Senegambia. In emphasizing the importance of this Mauretanian link, Amar Samb (1972a:29) has commented that those, who have studied there, have achieved greater phonological accuracy in their oral command of classical Arabic. He implies that this would aid communication with Arabophones, despite the fact that the archaic, formal nature of this classical Arabic register mitigates against its effectiveness for oral purposes.

The introduction of more modern methods of language teaching is fundamentally altering the traditional approach to teaching Arabic as a liturgical language through the memorisation of Quranic texts. The initial emphasis on rote learning often resulted in marabouts teaching the Qur'ān with a very limited knowledge of the language itself (Fisher, 1969:259; Samb, 1972b:99). Quranic teaching supervisors in the Gambia noted the generally low standard of teaching in state schools on their tour of inspection in 1972, citing the fundamental drawback that "a vast majority of the Koranic teachers ... cannot communicate in this language."[1] The reaction against "the chanting system of the dara"[2] has led

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1. See 'Islamic Syllabus for primary schools', prepared by Alhaji H.S. Bojang and Alhaji Mass Kah, Koranic teaching supervisors, Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Banjul, 1973.

2. 'Report on the Teaching of Koranic/Islam studies' by the supervising Koranic teachers: Alhaji H.S. Bojang and Alhaji Mass Kah, after their tour of inspection of primary schools in the Gambia in 1972 (cyc.).

to a more linguistic approach in which oral skills are stressed as well as the traditional concentration on recitation and aural comprehension of Quranic liturgy. Oral fluency is designed to enhance knowledge of Arabic, so that the Quranic texts that have to be recited will be understood, and not learnt 'parrot-fashion'. Scholarships to North African universities are now accelerating oral command of both modern literary and colloquial Arabic registers among Senegalese and Gambian teachers of Islamic studies, at the same time as leading to the study of classical Arabic and Islamic civilisation in greater depth. Despite the pedagogical objective behind this new orientation to the teaching of Arabic, the additional political motive behind its socio-cultural connotations arises from the increasing emphasis on the role of this medium in international communication.[1]

Further Quranic education had been continued by the majority of the clerics interviewed with authorities in certain branches of Islamic studies in Tivaouane, Fouta Toro, St. Louis and Mauretania; but, even at this stage, instruction through the medium of Arabic was emphasized more than that of the dominant lingua franca. It is at this level that fluency in reading and writing Arabic emerges, with some marabouts using this language as the medium for written contact with their counterparts elsewhere in Senegambia. However, the majority of the clerics stressed that it was more common to use Wolofal (Wolof in Arabic script)[2], since

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1. See section (2.3.), p.91.
2. Wolofal: the suffix denotes 'make into', 'transform', hence transcribe. cf. rafetal: make pretty.

they could not always be sure about the recipient's level of reading proficiency in Arabic. The use of Arabic script for a common home language among clerics, or between kin and affines in different parts of Senegambia, has developed as a means of written communication from the wide diffusion of Quranic education.[1] Although its usage is not restricted to those who teach the Qur'ān, not everyone who attends a daara acquires this skill. Nevertheless, it remains significant as a means of communication among the majority of the population who have no opportunity to become literate in English or French.[2] Government attitudes to its usage vary. It is more common practice in the Gambia, than Senegal,

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1. Trimingham (1959:84, fn.2), Monteil, V. (1964:225) and Ricard (1970:60) use the term ajami for Hausa literature written in Arabic script, but Paden (1970:89) claims that this term can technically be applied to any language (apart from Arabic) that uses Arabic transcription. Trimingham (idem) derives the term from 'ajamī, 'ajamiyya (Arabic) meaning 'outlandish'. Seydou, C. (1967:224, fn.) applies the term to Fula literature in Arabic script, but defines 'ajamiyya more specifically as "étrangère à la langue".

2. Although the Senegalese and Gambian governments use different bases for calculating the percentages of children enrolled for formal education, both figures can be cited to illustrate the small proportions of the population who have the opportunity to become literate in English or French. The Situation Economique du Sénégal (1974) (Direction de la Statistique, Ministère des Finances et des Affaires Economiques, Dakar, September, 1975, p.30) cites an enrolment rate of 30,6% (based on the relationship between the number of children going to school and the number of children between 6 and 14 years of age). In the Gambia, taking the school going age as between 5 and 19, out of 161,488 people in this sector of the population, only 22,959 (14,2%) said they were attending school (See Report on the Population Census,1973, Central Statistics Division, Banjul, August 1974, chapter 14: Education, Table 14.3). The same enquiry revealed that only 17,9% of the population had ever been to formal state school (idem, Tables 14.11, 14.12, 14.13).

to adopt this script alongside the official language on public signs or announcements,[1] but individual tradesmen sometimes use this medium for shop signs in either country.

The use of Arabic script for Senegambian languages was developed initially by marabouts in response to an awareness of the need to translate Islamic precepts into a local idiom in order to enhance understanding. This controversial aspect of the translation of the Qur'ān usually tends to be denied by most purist, 'integrative' clerics, who insist on an acculturative Arabic language teaching strategy. Strong opinions are held on this issue of translation, because of the sanctity attached to the language in which the Qur'ān was originally written, being regarded as the word of God, as revealed to the Prophet Mohammad. This mitigates against the development of a religious literary tradition in local languages, that could subsequently modify the primacy of Islamic culture and language.

The development of such a literary tradition has been evident in the Fouta Djalon, where the initiative of Fulɓe clerics in using Arabic script for their own language arose essentially "dans un souci de prosélytisme

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1. e.g. Sign restricting entry to the Public Works Department, Banjul, in English, Wolofal and Mandinka in Arabic script; sign in Wolofal by the President's Office, the Quadrangle, forbidding entry to his residence; Poster in English, Wolofal and Mandinka in Arabic script introducing the new currency (ARG., 203, 1971); sign in Wolofal indicating the wholesale department of Maurel & Prom, Wellington Street, Banjul; signs using Wolofal or Mandinka in Arabic script for branches of the Family Planning Association in Banjul, Kanifing, Basse, Brikama, Georgetown, etc.

éclairé et réaliste" in order to "rendre accessible aux masses les données nouvelles qu'ils souhaitaient voir adopter par tous".[1] Although their writing in Fula did not undermine similar efforts in Arabic ("Dans cette intention, ils doublèrent leur propre production en langue arabe, d'autre, parallèle, ou complémentaire, en langue peule"[1]), the potential threat to the role of Arabic was recognised by influential Islamic leaders, such as Cheikh Omar Tall. He is reputed to have sharply rebuked one of these clerics, Tierno Mohamadou Samba Mombeya[2] for the preparation of a catechism in Fula, entitled Oogirde Malal.[3]

Marabouts moving between the Fouta Djalon and Senegambia could have influenced this new orientation to Quranic teaching more decisively, if Cheikh Omar (in his capacity as the Grand Khalif for the Tijāniyya in West Africa during the mid-nineteenth century)[4], had not reacted so strongly to the substitution of local languages for domains monopolised by Arabic.[5] Another marabout, Cheikh

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1. Seydou, C., 'Panorama de la littérature peule',BIFAN, t.XXXV, sér.B., no.1, 1973, p.184.

2. Cited by Diagne, P.(1967:152; 1970:16); Sow, A.I.(1971:17, fn.1).

3. Tierno Mohamadou Samba Mombeya's Oogirde Malal has been re-transcribed and edited by Alfa Ibrahim Sow (Sow, A.I. (Ed.), Le Filon du bonheur éternel, Armand Colin, Classiques Africains No.10, Paris, 1971).

4. See Dumont, F. (1974:16,61); Saint Martin (1970:33).

5. The irony is that Cheikh Omar's own life was recorded in Fula written in Arabic script precisely in order to "atteindre le grand public des illettrés". Gaden, writing in the introduction to his transcription of this account, goes on to comment: "Ces oeuvres sont ainsi à la portée de tous, tandis que les tarikhs et les qacidas en arabe ne sont accessibles qu'à une petite élite..." (See Tyam, M.A., La Vie d'El Hadj Omar, translated and annotated by Henri Gaden, Institut d'Ethnologie, Paris, 1935, p.VII).

Moussa Kâ (1890-1965), who used Wolofal extensively for singing the praises of Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba (Samb, 1974: 593), has also been cited for his departure from the exclusive role of the written medium of Arabic in Islamic literature (Diagne, 1967:pp.149-154). The quotations given by Pathé Diagne from the writings of Tierno Mohamadou Samba Mombeya (1967:152) and Cheikh Moussa Kâ (1970:16) illustrate similar egalitarian attitudes to the value of all languages for facilitating the understanding of the holy texts of the Qur'ān. Moussa Kâ's writings within the Muridiyya have been identified by Diagne (1968:152) for their contribution to the division between this reforming, more localised movement, and the "arabisme intégriste" of the Tijāniyya grouped round El Hadj Malick Sy in Tivaouane; but the same 'double' literary tradition, that has been described in Fouta Djalon (Seydou, 1973) safeguards the position of Arabic since "son grand mérite a été d'avoir écrit en Wolof pendant que d'autres chantres de son maître, tel que Cheikh Ibra Diop Massar, le faisaient en arabe" (Samb, 1974:593). Arabic script has been used to transcribe other Senegambian languages, but its usage in Wolof and Fula has been more prolific. It is therefore appropriate that the Qur'ān should exist in Fula written in this script,[1] as well as having been transcribed into Wolofal by two Murid clerics, Serigne Mor Mbaye Cissé of Diourbel,[2] and Serigne

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1. See Trimingham (1959:pp.81,82); Santerre (1973:30). Both cite Fula translations of the Qur'ān that exist in manuscript form in the Fouta Djalon.
2. Monteil, V. (1964:226) cites this translation, but points out its shortcomings.

Ahmad Dam Toure.[1] Cheikh Moussa Kâ's songs in Wolof now feature alongside singing in Arabic at pious meetings organised by dā'hira in towns throughout Senegambia. Contrary to Cheikh Omar's fears, however, this literature in Senegambian languages has not prevented the growth of a flourishing Senegalese literary tradition in classical Arabic, whose development by Muslim clerics over the past century has been fully documented in Amar Samb's thesis.[2]

The emphasis on literacy, rather than oracy, in classical Arabic, provided a written medium of communication that has caused Samb (1971:498) to describe Arabic as "la langue officielle du Sénégal" prior to Independence. He points out that the treaties and correspondence between the traditional chiefs and the colonial authorities in Senegambia were written in Arabic, but he omits to mention the increasing competition from French in Senegal, after Governor William Ponty stipulated in 1911 that this language should be used for judgements in the native courts and for correspondence with leading notables.[3] The role of the 'marabout-secrétaire', with his skill in writing classical Arabic for political purposes, thus gradually diminished,

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1. Dumont, F. (1975:19) cites another translation of the Qur'ān into Wolof by Ahmad Dam Touré (with commentary).

2. Samb, A., Essai sur la Contribution du Sénégal à la Littérature d'Expression Arabe, Mémoires de l'IFAN, no.87, IFAN-Dakar, 1972, 534p.

3. Circulaire du gouverneur général W. Ponty, no.29,c,8 mai 1911, Journal Officiel de l'A.O.F., 1911, p.286, cited by Bouche (1975:569).

but the use of the Arabic script has survived in the face of the wider diffusion of English or French as written media in the Gambia and Senegal. However, its function in the Senegambian context is likely to be further undermined by the decision of both governments to use the Latin alphabet for the transcription of local languages as teaching media.[1]

The primacy of the Arabic language in the mosque and in Quranic education results in a limited knowledge of the official language among the Muslim clerics interviewed. Since they do not associate the main language of public worship with the official language of government, very little understanding of English or French was evident (cf. IV:C8,C9). Those, who had acquired slight knowledge of the official language, described it as 'lakku tubaab'[2]: the whiteman's language, which is reserved essentially for contact with foreigners. They expected the local Muslim population, whatever their social or professional status, to show respect by using a common lingua franca, rather than the official language of the area; since antipathies to this language, arising from its colonial connotations, were still evident. They expected government representatives, for example, to use a common lingua franca rather than to

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1. cf. Hausa literature in ajami and Hausa literature in boko in Northern Nigeria (Paden, 1970:58).

2. lakk, meaning 'language' in Wolof, whereas 'tubaab' is commonly used in several West African languages (e.g. Wolof, Bambara, Serahuli, Serer-Sine) to denote a European (See Bataille, J., 'De l'origine du mot "Toubab" d'après une étude de Maurice Delafosse', Gazio-Calvet,J., 'Quelques emplois actuels du mot "Toubab" - Note', Réalités Africaines et Langue Française, No.2, 1975, pp.7-11.

speak in the official language through an interpreter. Their disregard for formal education, as they followed their agnatic kin in their traditional occupation, resulted in only (2) informants (IV:9,10) having learnt some English at school. Whereas one of them had attended the Muhammedan School in Banjul, that combined both the Quranic and British systems of education; the other had continued his Quranic studies at the same time as being enrolled at the Catholic mission school. Both informants had subsequently worked in clerical positions (in which proficiency in English had been essential), before taking up their present leading functions as niyaba (deputy for the Imam in leading public prayer), and Qadi (judge) in the Muslim community. Perhaps it is significant that both have occupations which involve some contact with the administration, and therefore still utilise the official language. A third informant (IV: 5) attributed his basic knowledge of French to his term in the army, followed by a short period as chef de canton; but the others, having been entirely educated within the traditional Quranic system, have been able to concentrate on their role as marabouts in which the official language is of limited importance.

Since adherence to Islam is consolidated by kinship and affinal ties, intermarriage between leading clerical families is a common phenomenon throughout Senegambia, with prestige attached to links with a revered Muslim leader. The inter-relationship between the Kâ, Bâ and Bamba families was therefore cited with pride by members from the Kâ and Bâ, because of the admiration that all Senegambian Muslims, of whatever sectarian affiliation, hold

for Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba. It is thus no coincidence that all the informants in Table IV should be linked through kin and affines, or that (7) of the informants had been attached to a *marabout* of the same agnatic descent for part of their Quranic studies. Since spiritual lineage is valued by these clerics, the location of the tombs of kin, who have set an example as holymen, were revered as places of pilgrimage on an individual, or collective, basis. For example, the Bâ family in Sokone (S) cited the graves of Mapathé Douloh at Ntoro Baien (G) and of Saït Maty Bâ at Bakau (G), both of whom influenced the orientation of Ma Bâ Diakhou's holy *jihād* in different ways.[1] The tombs of Tierno Modu and Tierno Aliou Diallo in Sobuldé (Casamance) are important to their patrilineal descendants and *talibés* in Senegambia, as holy places where a *ziara* is organised annually for the recitation of commemorative prayers in Arabic. For religious services, in connection with family festivities and visits, public prayers are formally recited in the official language of Islam. Wolof emerged as the language generally used for informal, social contact between these Senegambian families, although (3) *marabouts* also used Fula with their close kin and *talibés* (IV:3,7,8).

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1. Mapathé Douloh was the grandfather of Ma Bâ Diakhou. Saït Maty Bâ was his son (see section 6.2.1).

Background										
A1 Age & Sex	M60+	M60+	M40+	M60+	M60+	M60+	M70+	M40+	M50+	M40+
A2 Birthplace	Nioro Du Rip(S)	Nioro Du Rip(s)	Sokone(s)	Banjul(G)	Sokone(s)	Banjul	KerMomadou Néné(s)	KerCherno (G)	Banjul	Banjul
A3 Education	Quranic (father Abdou Bâ & uncle Elimane Souleymane Bâ)	Quranic (father Omar Bâ & uncles Mahmath Penda Bâ, Makhtar Bâ, Ndiogou Sira Bâ, Elimane Souleymane Bâ)	Quranic (uncle Ibrahim Dème & father Serigne Ali Dème)	Quranic (Serigne Ali Diagne-head of family)	Quranic (Serigne Gibril Sallah of Bamba)	Quranic (Serigne Abdou Sy, Seydi Ababacar Sy & Aboulaye Niass)	Quranic (Tierno Aliou Diallo-Sobuldé & Dianiét)	Quranic (Cherno Baba Jallow & Islamic law in Fouta Toro & St.Louis)	Quranic (Serigne Mohammed Jeng, Hassan Cheu & Serigne Adama. St. Augustine's)	Quranic & English Mohammedan school). Islamic law in St.Louis & Mauretania
A4 Occupation	Imam of the Little Mosque & tailor.	Marabout & neighbourhood leader (chef d' escale).	Marabout & Khalif	Imam of Half Die mosque. Ex-trader.	Marabout (Chef de Canton 1930-1933) Imam Quranic teacher Mohammedan School 1935-1956.		Marabout	Marabout	2nd Nivaba Imam's secretary (former UAC clerk).	Qadi (former clerk).
A5 Residence	Nioro du Rip	Nioro du Rip	Sokone	Banjul	Sokone	Banjul	Ker Cherno(G)	Medina-bye-Mass	Banjul	Banjul
Senegambian Contact										
B1 Kin & affines	Kin in Banjul. Affinal links with Cherno Baba Jallow.	Kin in Banjul. Daughter married to a marabout in Brufut.	-	Kin in Ndiagne. Affinal ties with Bâ family and Jallow family.	Kin in Banjul. Affines.	Kin in Nioro, Sokone & Dakar. 1 Senegalese wife in Dakar.	Kin in Sobuldé & Dianiét. Affines in Nioro & Ndiaye-kounda.	Kin in Casamance, Cayor & Dakar	Kin in Dakar & Kaolack	Kin in Nioro & Dakar
B2 Occupation) B3 Religion)	Spiritual links with Cherno Baba Jallow.	Visits Gambian marabouts.	Many Gambian talibés - toured Gambia after father's death 1973 to visit them.		Goes to see talibés once a month & has prayed at tombs of Mapathé Douloh & SaitMatyBâ.	Talibés in Dakar.	Talibés in Casamance & SineSaloum. Dâ'hira in Kaolack. Annual ziara to Sobuldé.	Annual ziara to Sobuldé & own talibés come to ziara at Medina bye-Mass.	Muraddem of Khalif Abdoul Aziz Sy - Tivaouane.	In contact with Senegalese counterparts.
B4 Education	-	-	-	Quranic studies (10 yrs with Serigne Ali Diagne)	Quranic studies in Bamba.	Quranic studies in Kougheul, Kaolack & Tivaouane.	Quranic education in Sobuldé & Dianiét	Quranic education in Fouta Toro & St.Louis	-	6 years in Abdou Bâ's diara in Nioro.
Language repertoire										
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Fula	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Fula	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2	-	-	Wolof very occasionally	-	-	-	-	Fula	-	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Fula	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education	Arabic (Wolof medium)	Arabic (Wolof medium)	Arabic (Fula medium)	Arabic (Wolof medium)	Arabic (Wolof medium)	Arabic (Wolof medium)	Arabic (Fula medium)	Arabic (Fula & Wolof medium)	Arabic (Wolof medium) English	Arabic (Wolof medium) English
C5.1 L/Religious Liturgy	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5.2 L/Public Worship	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Fula	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7.1 WL=PL	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Fula	Wolof	Sometimes leads prayer but does not preach	Majority of cases in Kenifing heard in Mandinka, sometimes Wolof or Fula. Judgements in Arabic.
C7.2 WL=TL (Daara)	Arabic & Wolof	Arabic & Wolof	Arabic & Wolof	Arabic & Wolof	Arabic & Wolof	Arabic &Wolof	Arabic & Fula	Arabic & Wolof	Writes Imam's correspondence to Government in English	
C8 OL1	Understands a little French	Understands a little French for official business	V. little French	A little English	Some French (from 3 yrs in army)	A little English learnt from other teachers	-	A little English	English (education)	English
C9 OL2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A little French (evening classes)
C1Q1 S/G LWC Oral	Wolof (B1 & B3)	Wolof	Arabic (B3) for leading prayer. Wolof & Mandinka (through interpreting)	Wolof (B1 & B4) Arabic (B4)	Wolof (B1 & B2)	Wolof (B1 & B2)	Fula & Wolof (B1 & B2) Arabic (B2 & B4)	Wolof (B1 & B2) Fula	Wolof (B1 & B3)	Wolof (B3 & B4) Arabic (B4)
C1Q2 S/G LWC Written	Wolofal	Arabic or Wolofal.	Arabic or Wolofal.	Arabic or Wolofal.	Arabic or Wolofal.	Arabic to Marabouts. Wolofal to others.	Arabic Wolofal or Fula in Arabic script.	Arabic Wolofal	Writes in English for translation	Arabic to Qadis & Marabouts. Wolofal to kin.
E Other	Has used classical Arabic with Mauretanian Marabouts.	Speaks fluent classical Arabic with visitors Mauretanian Marabouts.								Legal records in Arabic.
	IV:1	IV:2	IV:3	IV:4	IV:5	IV:6	IV:7	IV:8	IV:9	IV:10

Table IV: Tijān Muslim Clerics: The Inter-relationship between Arabic and Wolof or Fula in the Service of Islam

Conclusion

This comparison of the linguistic situation in which Islam and Catholicism co-exist in Senegambia has revealed different attitudes to the relevance of liturgical languages, home languages, and the official language of government, in religious services and instruction. The function of the liturgical language is indicative of the orientation of the mosque or the church towards integration into a wider, more universal religious community, or towards a more localised system of worship. On the one hand, the primacy of classical Arabic, as the target language of Islamic studies and as the language of public prayer and liturgy in Senegambian mosques, has been retained. On the other hand, the declining use of Latin in Catholic church services leads to greater use of the official language, and of the home languages of the majority of the congregations in Senegal and the Gambia.

Both liturgical languages were learnt originally through repetitive, chanting methods, but the traditional system of memorising Quranic texts, with little understanding, is shifting in Senegalese and Gambian state schools towards a more thorough study of the classical Arabic language. This strategy has both political and religious connotations, since the Arabic language is considered to be the means through which the Muslim can be initiated into a wider Pan-Islamic community. In contrast Latin has lost its clerical, scholastic, and political status as a world language. It has thus been abandoned in the Gambian educational system, although it has survived on the school curriculum in Senegal

for cultural reasons.[1] Differences in the evolution of Arabic and Latin as liturgical languages arise from a fundamental difference in attitude as to how far holy texts can be studied in translation. Beliefs in the divine endowment of the classical Arabic of the Qur'ān mitigate against its translation into other languages, for fear that it should lose some of the superior, unique characteristics that only this medium can express.[2] Its study in languages apart from Arabic is consequently a controversial subject among Muslim scholars and clerics, which affected the Senegambian region when Fulbe and Wolof clerics attempted to use their own language to facilitate communication with the population at large. The same controversy over local language usage does not characterise the Catholic church in Senegal and the Gambia, because of a different attitude to language and communication. Latin was not the original language of the Bible, and although it became the official language of the Church, translation of both the Bible, and parts of the Catholic services into local languages, have been justified by the priority that modern Christianity gives to communication with understanding.

The principles of self-abasement and discipline, common to both religions, have been used to condone the distinction in usage that Catholic priests and Muslim clerics have made between the language of liturgy or language of public worship, and the dominant lingua franca or language

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1. See Chapter 2, section (2.3).

2. See Chejne (1969:pp.8,9).

of wider communication within the religious speech community. The practising Christian or Muslim has to discipline himself to master the official language of the church, or mosque, in order to demonstrate his willingness to adopt the tenets of this new religion and way of life(of which language and education presents one aspect). The danger of this rigid categorisation of languages emerges in the division that it perpetuates between 'superior' and 'inferior' languages. The concept of a 'perfect' language, having superior attributes, is intrinsic to the Muslim's attitude to classical Arabic,[1] since this is believed to be the divinely revealed Word of God. Hence the language perceived by the Tijān clerics as a 'first' language was not the primary spoken language of their home environment, but the language which they considered to be of primary importance in their lives through their adherence to Islam. The association in the Catholic church between the official language of government and formal language of public worship also embodies connotations of a hierarchy of languages in which the home language is relegated to an inferior position. On the other hand, the alliance between church and state interests in education results in the orientation of their

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1. Chejne (1969:6,8,23) relates how the Arabic language continues to be extolled by "Muslims in general and Arabs in particular" because of the linguistic dogma surrounding the uniqueness of the 'clear' Arabic of the Qur'ān: the Revealed Book that in itself constitutes a divine miracle (i'jaz) He cites passages in the Qur'ān (26:192; 42:5;43:1-2) that embody this conviction about the 'purity', and hence supremacy of this classical Arabic medium.

schools towards a secular target language (i.e. English or French). The acculturative influence of adherence to Islam or Christianity leads to antipathies between people who associate the other religion and culture with a particular language in the speech community. This may be either the official language of formal worship, or a local lingua franca (as has been illustrated in Casamance in the association by Catholics of Mandinka with the work of local marabouts). For Muslims, Crioulo has been similarly identified with the activities of the Catholic church in Ziguinchor. The Muslim Wolof perceive the identity of interest between the Catholic church and state in their usage of the term 'jango' to refer both to church and to school, and in reference to 'lakku tubaab' (i.e. the particular European language dominating both government and Christian domains). Similarly, the phrase "A dat Kertyen, a dat Tubab o"[1] ('the Christian way is the European way') has been used by the old generation of Serer to justify their resistance to the evangelising effort of the Catholic mission. This reflected their perception of a religion that embodied European customs and civilisation, at the expense of their own traditions. The controversy over the translation of the holy language of the Qur'ān, and Islamic literature in general, arises from fears that the spiritual authority of this world religion, and the civilisation it embodies, will be weakened by incursions into the exclusive domains of classical Arabic.

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1. Cited and transcribed by Gravrand (1961:14,103).

Nevertheless, despite the primacy of the official language of Islam, and the official language of the church and state, the problem of mass communication in the propagation of these religions cannot be ignored. Clerics of both faiths resort to a language of wider communication when using a text from the Qur'ān or the Bible for didactic purposes, in order to ensure that the majority of the congregation has understood. Both religions therefore use one language to represent the formal liturgy of worship (identifying the Muslim with Islam in its international context, and the Christian with the official language of national government). At the same time the Senegambian cleric has to concede that, in order to communicate meaningfully with the majority of the congregation, a local lingua franca has to be used.

The promotion of Arabic as an international language of wider communication presents a new factor in Islamic studies in Senegambia, but this extension of its liturgical role may be self defeating in its association with the increasing emphasis on the teaching of Arabic as an oral medium. It has been shown how in traditional Quranic education the ideals of unity within the Muslim community could be upheld in the Senegambian context, but those Senegalese and Gambians who now go to North African universities, on government scholarships, have to be integrated into their separate state systems of education on return. Ironically, each government insists that they learn to communicate in the official language,[1] as the dominant

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1. e.g. The CLCF at the University of Dakar was organising an intensive French course for Senegalese teachers of Arabic 1976/77. Cf. the integration of Serigne Mbaké Kâ and Oustace Mass Kah into the Senegalese and Gambian educational systems, respectively (See Section (6.2.4), p. 473.

teaching medium, through which Islamic culture is to be explained, and into which the Arabic language is to be translated. The state is thus introducing a divisive element into the linguistic repertoires of Senegalese and Gambian teachers of Arabic and Islamic studies, that has hitherto been absent in the region.

LANGUAGE USAGE AND OCCASIONAL MOBILITY

4.3. Commercial contact between Senegal and the Gambia.

4.3.1. General Introduction

In the commercial field, the position and size of the Gambia in relation to Senegal made it easier for trading enterprises operating in Northern and Southern Senegal to open a branch in Banjul, while businessmen established in the Gambia have had to take the larger port and market of Dakar into consideration for importing material from overseas. This inter-relationship between French companies operating in Senegal and the Gambia, and the dependence of Gambian commercial interests on communications through Dakar, as well as through Banjul, has put particular emphasis on the learning of French by Gambian businessmen seeking to gain a commercial advantage.

Certain socio-linguistic factors, relating to the significance of French and English in Gambian commerce, the role of Wolof as a Senegambian commercial language, the Wolofisation of families who have settled in Banjul or Dakar for commercial reasons, and the multilingual expertise of traditional traders, will be illustrated by this section. The following table shows how the (72) interviews in the commercial field were distributed, with (2) of the Soninke businessmen also included in the study on Senegambian 'traditional commerce'.

a	SENEGAL ⟶ THE GAMBIA	: Families who have been involved in working for French companies in Banjul ..... (21)
b	SIERRA LEONE ⟶ THE GAMBIA / SENEGAL	: Families who originally migrated from Freetown to promote the kolanut trade ..... (20)
c	THE GAMBIA ⟶ SENEGAL	: Gambian businessmen in contact with Senegal (9)
d	SENEGAL ⟶ THE GAMBIA	: Soninke businessmen in Senegambia ..... (13)
e	SENEGAL ⟶ THE GAMBIA	: Senegambian traditional traders ..... (11)

A brief description of how the French companies came to be established in the Gambia is needed to explain the employment of workers of Senegalese origin, which has fostered the use of Wolof and French as working languages in French enterprises, as well as English.

4.3.2. The establishment of French companies in Banjul.

This situation, in which French companies have been able to exert a more important influence than in other Anglophone capitals on the West coast, reflects the fluctuating fortunes of French and British merchants in the commercial development of the area. Gorée and St. Louis had featured prominently in this rivalry, since the British considered them to be intrinsic to their participation in the French monopoly of the gum trade, and so throughout the Anglo-French (including the Napoleonic) wars, they

periodically occupied these trading posts[1] to meet this objective. It has been pointed out that British merchants operating in Senegal favoured the establishment of a settlement on St. Mary's Island, in order to promote the same commercial interest (Martin, 1927:57; Mahoney,1962:32) after Gorée was restored to the French by the Treaty of Paris (1814). They even tolerated the French re-occupation of Albreda[2] to avoid any repercussions on their interests in Senegal.

During the second decade of the nineteenth century British merchants were therefore concentrating primarily on gum trading prospects in the North, while French merchants were more concerned with extending their business interests from trading posts on the River Senegal southwards as far as Rios Pongos and Nuñez. Maurel & Prom, which has been identified as "the doyen of the French African trading firms" (Conley Barrows, 1974:236) serves as a good example of such enterprise, since it was the first French company to operate in both Senegal and the Gambia, after the founders Louis Hubert Prom and Hilaire Maurel had combined their operations in 1831. French merchants tended to establish themselves at Goree and St. Louis before exploring

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1. Hargreaves (1965:180) lists the periods of British occupation as 1758-1778, 1809-1817 (St. Louis); 1759-1763, 1779-1783, 1800-1817 (Gorée).

2. Albreda was 15 kms. from St. Mary's Island on the North Bank of the River Gambia. The French had occupied this factory since the seventeenth century (See Verdat, M., 'Sur la fondation au XVII siècle du comptoir francais d'Albreda (Gambie anglaise)', Notes Africaines, No.29, Jan., 1946, pp.2-4.

the possibilities of trading on rivers further south. Louis Hubert Prom therefore directed their import/export business from St. Louis, while his cousin Hilaire Maurel widened their activities during the 1830s to include Bathurst as well as Joal, Foundiougne, Albreda, the Casamance and Portuguese Guinea (Baillet, 1923:72).

The decisive impetus to the commercial life of the area came with the development of the groundnut in Senegambia in the 1840s (Gray, 1940:ch.XXV; Hargreaves, 1963:93). Maurel & Prom were able to use their establishments in both countries to promote this trade, with Hilaire Maurel[1] founding a peanut oil refinery in Bordeaux (1858) to absorb their exports. Many of the French merchants originated from Bordeaux or Marseilles, and gained experience of the area by working with an established firm, like Maurel & Prom, before setting up their own company. For example, C.A. Verminck, the founder of Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale (C.F.A.O.), had previously been the representative for Maurel & Prom in Bathurst (Baillet, 1923:2) prior to starting his own business in Senegal, followed by a sister company in the Gambia in the 1880s. Hilaire Maurel's nephews formed their own company, Maurel Frères, in 1869, which later expanded to open another branch in Banjul, so that its operations, combined with that of the parent company, Maurel & Prom, became "two of the largest shipping and wholesaling companies" (Wesley Johnson, 1971:99) in the area.

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1. See p. 230; p.240.

The opening of the River Gambia to French vessels, according to the same regulations as the British, through the Anglo-French convention (1857), intensified commercial rivalry (Gray, 1940:410). By the same convention the British renounced their interests in the gum trade at Portendick, while the French conceded their trading post at Albreda. However, British free trade policies helped the French to play a predominant role in the development and expansion of groundnut exports from both Senegal and the Gambia (Gray, 1940:488; Gamble, 1949:58; Ames, 1962:35; Klein,1968:37). Hargreaves (1963: 155) identifies the practice of paying cash for groundnuts, rather than the barter system used by British merchants, as an important factor in the development of French influence during the nineteenth century. It was therefore not surprising that, by the 1880s, the French five franc piece (known as the 'dollar') was reputed to comprise 85% of the total coinage in circulation in the Gambia (Gray, 1940:487; Mahoney, 1963:126), and continued to be recognised as legal tender until 1922 (Gamble, 1949:59).

In his official handbook to The Gambia Colony and Protectorate, Bisset Archer (1906:126) listed Maurel & H. Prom, Maurel Frères and La Compagnie Française among the six main companies selling hardware, provisions, cotton goods, liquor, etc., as well as having "the most important factories in the colony". He also cited the Bathurst Trading Company, which had been founded by Thomas Quin (a former official in the colonial legal service), and which was to be taken over by Barthès et Lessieur before finally becoming Le Commerce Africain. Etablissements Vézia completes

this extension of French enterprise from Senegal to the Gambia, which by the 1950s was only seriously challenged by one British concern: the United Africa Company (UAC).

However, this conglomeration of French companies has been weakened since the 1950s by government restrictions on general trading and by the development of the Gambia Produce Marketing Board (G.P.M.B.) to absorb the monopoly of the groundnut industry. During the last fifteen years, Le Commerce Africain, Maurel Frères and Vézia[1] have terminated their operations in the Gambia, leaving only C.F.A.O., Maurel & Prom and the International Bank for Commerce and Industry (B.I.C.I.)[2] to represent French interests.

4.3.3. Families who have migrated from Senegal to the Gambia for commercial reasons.

4.3.3.1. The Mulatto community.

The Mulatto community in the Gambia consisted initially of descendants of the early Portuguese explorers and traders, whose prominence as "commerçants ou d'intermédiaires négriers" (Villard, 1943:72) was observed by Francis Moore at Factories[3] on the River Gambia 1730-1735.

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1. Personal communication, William Grant, the Registrar General, Banjul, 17.1.76.
2. Established in Banjul in 1969.
3. A factory was the name given to posts established by the chartered trading companies, with a resident factor conducting business on behalf of the company.

Sieur de la Courbe (1685, reprinted 1913:192) had commented, while directing the affairs of the Compagnie du Sénégal in 1685, that these Mulattoes "outre la langue du pays, parlent encore un certain jargon qui n'a que tres peu de ressemblance a la langue portuguise, et qu'on nomme langue creole, comme dans la mer Mediterranée la langue franque..." (sic) , while from his position as a writer or factor[1] for the Royal African Company at James Island, Moore identified the first language of these Mulattoes, Creole Portuguese, as second in importance only to "Mandingoe... but it is sooner learnt by Englishmen than any other Language in this River, and is always spoken by the Linguists which serve both the separate Traders and the Company." (Moore, 1738:39). However, when, after the foundation of Bathurst, the main commercial and administrative area of town came to be called Portuguese Town, the term Portuguese had acquired the wider connotation of anyone of mixed European/African descent, with the British merchants, who had moved from Gorée to Banjul with their common-law wives, les Signares, living in the same part of town (Gray, 1940:316). The derivation of the name signare refers to this same Portuguese presence, and has been explained by Golberry (1802:156): "Toutes les Négresses libres et riches, et toutes les Mulâtresses se faisaient appeler signares, et l'usage de prendre ce titre est assez général dans toute la partie de l'Afrique Occidentale, entre le Sénégal et le Cap de Palmes; il date de l'arrivée des Portuguis en Afrique.." After subsequent periods of

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1. A factory was the name given to posts established by the chartered trading companies, with a resident factor conducting business on behalf of the company.

occupation by the Dutch, French and British, the name Signare came to refer in Gorée and St. Louis to any local woman living with a European, or the daughters of this Eur/African relationship known as mariage à la mode du pays.[1]

Many of the Signares became influential members of the community through the social and economic advantages of having a husband who was expected to make substantial provision for them before his final departure for Europe. Some of them became businesswomen in their own right (Deroure, 1964:407), owning property and large households of captifs[2] and artisans. They gradually acquired significance in the commercial life of Gorée and St. Louis, not only through their local influence as permanent habitants, but through being able to act as intermediaries between the African and European sectors of the community. A marriage of this kind therefore developed as an advantageous arrangement for a European businessman (Idowu, 1972:272). The intermediary role of the Signares in such a heterogenous community depended largely on their acquisition of French as well as Wolof. Abbé Boilat (1853:7) noted that "A Gorée toutes les signares parlent français", which can be attributed to the influence of the Nuns of the Order of St. Joseph de Cluny[3], and to their associations with

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1. This special kind of marriage agreement made between the European and the Signara's family has been described by Durand (1802:215) and Golberry (1802:157).

2. Household slaves.

3. Established by Mère Anne-Marie Javouhey in Gorée, St. Louis and Banjul in 1822 and 1823. See p. 175 , fn. 1.

Europeans. Although Boilat mentions some of the traditional Wolof customs that the Signares had retained (such as the mbotaye),[1] he points out that, in the Mulatto community, "les habitants et les signares ont toujours été chrétiens... à cause de la religion de leurs pères." He classifies them along with free Christian Africans as 'gourmets'.[2]

The economic and social significance of the Signares had become so apparent during the final British occupation of Gorée that it has been doubted whether the British merchants would have decided to leave for the new trading settlement on St. Mary's Island, if their wives had not agreed to accompany them (Mahoney, 1963:33). This important migration of part of the Gorée Mulatto community to Banjul helped to establish links between the two centres, which facilitated movement by subsequent generations of Mulatto traders, or professional men seeking employment in the French companies of Banjul.

The children of the Signares bore their father's name and were often educated at his expense in Senegal or France. Their business connections found them employment similar to that of the earlier Portuguese groups, as traitants, or intermediaries[3] between the European

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1. Mbotaye (W.) - Neighbourhood women's club, described by Boilat in the explanation to the plates at the end of Esquisses Sénégalaises, P. Bertrand, Paris, 1853, p.5., plate 1.

2. See Section (4.2.1.), p. 177, fn.3.

3. This privilege, which became guaranteed by the French colonial authorities, was vigorously challenged by the European merchants during the mid-nineteenth century - See Conley Barrows (RFHOM, t.LXI., no.223, 1974, pp.239-248).

négociants (wholesale merchants), based at St. Louis or Gorée, and the local traders or farmers who brought goods to the escales[1] or factories on the riverside. The Mulatto traitant could extend the advantages of his mixed parentage by using his African background to facilitate contact in the hinterland on the one hand, and his European training and language[2] on the other. Bordeaux merchants like Louis Hubert Prom and Hilaire Maurel[3] eventually spoke Wolof fluently[4] (perhaps through the assistance of the Laporte sisters, whom they married while they were based in Gorée)[5]. Nevertheless, their contacts with Mulatto traitants from the Potin, Pellegrin, Valantin, Allègre and Panet families, speaking both languages, were vital to the extension of their commercial interests across Senegambia.

With their knowledge of the gum trade and the Senegal River, the Mulatto traitants, who moved to St. Mary's Island, proved useful for promoting British mercantile

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1. An escale was the name for any port of call where markets between local producers and traitants would be held at certain times of the year.

2. The Royal Ordinance (1842) and the Presidential Decree (1849), which Conley Barrows identifies as crucial to the protection of the habitant's special role in commerce, specified that those licensed to act as middlemen at the escales had to be literate in French.

3. See p. 224.

4. According to a speech made by M. Lucien Maurel during the centenary celebrations of Etablissements Maurel & Prom, reproduced in Baillet (1923:88).

5. See Gorée: Baptêmes de 1827 à 1846, Archives de l'Archidiocèse, Dakar, pp.34,50,54,66,80.

interest in the north. Through having property and local prestige, the Mulatto habitants also controlled large numbers of domestic slaves, including most of the artisans, shipwrights and mechanics who formed the labour force that constructed the new settlement (Gray, 1940:316; Mahoney, 1963:32,33).

The significant contribution that the Mulatto habitants made to the establishment of the trading settlement at Bathurst was subsequently consolidated by further movements of traitants and by the transfer of clerical staff from Senegal to the Gambia. Although several of the Gambian Mulattoes interviewed referred to grandparents from the Delacomb, Allègre, Valantin and Newton families, who had come to the Gambia as traitants; all but one of the informants originated from families who had been involved in similar trading operations on the rivers between St. Louis and Conakry (Table V). All of them also had close kin and affines who had worked for French companies in an administrative or clerical capacity. These include Mulattoes having some skill in accountancy, which, with their knowledge of French and Wolof, made them once again an asset to a company, both in expertise, and as a link between the French administration and the local Wolof-speaking population.

Habitants of Mulatto descent gradually reached

the higher echelons of company administration,[1] having definite advantages in language, cost and background over a French counterpart (Idowu, 1972:273). Such promotions represent a considerable evolution from the original inter-relationship between the négociant and the traitant, each with clearly defined roles in the business community; but the Mulatto's advantage of fluency in two working languages continued to be the key to his success as the intermediary between the French and African sectors of the population, whether in Senegal or the Gambia.

Certain characteristics of the Mulatto community in Banjul arise from the French ancestry of the majority of its members, which has helped to foster intra-group solidarity in relation to the rest of the population. They have therefore preferred close intermarriage within the group, with Senegalese Mulatto families, or with the Mulatto children of French or British businessmen, to marriages with the local inhabitants. Abdoulaye Sadji, in his novel Nini[2], (a young Mulatto girl in St. Louis)

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1. e.g. M. Allègre and M. Panet, agents for Maurel et Prom in Bathurst in 1845 and 1851, respectively. The role of the Mulatto as the vital intermediary for the French colonial authorities had also been illustrated by Léopold Panet's previous role as the interpreter accompanying Anne de Raffenel on his second journey into the Sudan (See de Raffenel, A., Nouveau voyage dans le pays des nègres, Librairie Centrale de Napoléon, Paris, 1856). Cornevin (1976:111) records that he later lead an expedition in order to further French commercial interests in the Western Sahara (Panet, L., Première exploration du Sahara occidental, 1850, re-ed. 1968, le Livre Africain, Paris).

2. Published in Présence Africaine, Nos.1-4, 1947/1948.

satirizes the snobbish attitudes of closely-knit Mulatto groups during the first half of this century, by describing how different degrees of skin pigmentation could influence social status. Nevertheless, he also admits (idem, 1947:106) that the leading mulatto families derived prestige"grace à un aieul qui fut jadis magistrat, officier ou grand négociant". However, in the Gambia, a relaxation in social attitudes to marriage outside the group has emerged in direct correlation to the Wolofisation of the Mulatto community.

Among the first generation descendants of Senegalese Mulatto or French/African parents who settled in Banjul, a preference for French education can be seen (Table VI:B4). The Mulatto communities in Senegal were particularly susceptible to the French mission civilisatrice, because of their dualistic background, and so became characterised by their attachment to Catholicism and to the French language and culture. Consequently, many children were sent to Senegal for their education, even after their parents had settled permanently in the Gambia.

This preference for French education reflects attitudes about the superiority of the French language, nurtured by French colonial policies, which also influenced the Mulatto in emphasizing his French origins rather than his African ancestry. Sadji, for example, describes how Nini deliberately spoke Wolof badly when speaking to Africans to whom she considered herself superior.[1] Abbé Boilat (1853:12) lectured parents at a prize-giving (organised by the Nuns of the Order of St. Joseph de Cluny in Gorée)

1. She was at pains to pretend that she could not speak Wolof very well, Présence Africaine, No.1 (1947:92);No.2(1948:284)

on the importance of speaking French, as opposed to Wolof, at home. In his opinion, this was "absolument nécessaire pour avoir ici une jeunesse instruite, des filles vertueuses et des personnes civilisées..." Command of the French language was thus emphasized as a prerequisite to the appreciation of French culture and civilisation.

Convention had gradually established in Gorée and St. Louis that the Mulatto should assume the citizenship as well as the religion of his father, but the full political rights that this logically implied only emerged as the Mulattoes became more coherent as a pressure group in opposition to the Bordeaux merchants (Wesley Johnson, 1968; Conley Barrows, 1974).

The development of civil rights within the communes of Gorée and St. Louis, (whether through the election of Mulatto mayors, the election of Durand Valantin, a Mulatto, as the first Senegalese representative to the National Assembly in Paris in 1848, or the establishment of Gorée and St. Louis as full-scale municipal councils in 1872) served to underline the exclusiveness of the habitants as citoyens, as opposed to the sujets of the interior. Such privileged treatment perhaps made the Mulattoes (who continued to migrate to Banjul for commercial reasons until the French companies began to limit their Gambian operations)[1] conscious of the advantages of their French education as well as making them feel superior to the local population. Many of them therefore gave their children the same education, which led in some cases to a return to Banjul on completion of their studies for employment by a French firm (Table V:2,4,6)

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1. See p. 226.

Controversy has centred on the extent to which the habitants were culturally and linguistically assimilated by their exposure to French colonial policies during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Crowder, 1962; Hargreaves, 1965; July, 1969; Idowu, 1972);[1] but it seems likely that by the mid-nineteenth century French had acquired 'high-style' status through use in formal situations (including commercial contact with Europeans), whereas Wolof would be reserved for 'low style' informal circumstances.[2] This likely distinction in usage may have arisen from the significant roles that have been described for the Mulatto in these Eur/African communities, with the nineteenth century identified as their "golden age" (Idowu, 1968:145). However, it was ironic that, through trying to prevent their loss of political initiative in relation to the African majority, that emerged in the Four communes early this century, it became expedient to stress their latent African origins (Wesley Johnson, 1968; Idowu, 1972).

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1. Holle had little reservations about the 'success' of French policies. Writing as a habitant (1855:17), he noted: "On compte parmi les habitants quelques esprits distingués; la génération qui s'élève promet au Sénégal des sujets qui, façonnés à nos moeurs par une éducation reçue en Europe et bien pénétrés des idées françaises, ne laisseront apercevoir aucune dissemblance entre eux et les Français de la métropole..."

2. See Ferguson, C.A., 'Diglossia', Word, Vol.15, 1959, pp.325-140; Fishman, J.A., 'Nationality-Nationalism and Nation-Nationism' in Fishman, Ferguson & Das Gupta (Eds.), Language Problems in Developing Nations, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1968, p.45. Cf. pp.485-487for evidence of a less rigid categorisation of language functions in contemporary Senegal.

Evidence of the integration of the Mulatto descendants in Banjul as Gambian citizens can be seen in their present attitudes to education. No third generation descendants in this study were educating their children in French except in cases of residence in Senegal through marriage (V:3,8). But informants, who had had no exposure to the language and culture of their French ancestors, nevertheless referred to it with pride, despite the fact that their Wolof background and English-medium education have now taken precedence. All of the Gambian informants identified Wolof as their dominant home language (V:C1), but the lack of a common educational experience affects contact with Senegal. Different attitudes to the use of the official language emerged when (6) of the Mulatto descendants commented that their relations in Senegal "forget that they are African, and speak French, rather than Wolof, even at home", while (4) of them mentioned incidents at the border or in shops where the Senegalese had "deliberately used French rather than our common language".

Further evidence of the Wolofness of the Mulatto community in Banjul can be seen by their retention of certain customs. Boilat (1853:6) had referred to the observance of Wolof traditions by the Signares, confident that "ces usages se perdent par le progrès de la civilisation." Nevertheless, customs, such as entrusting a child to a relative for its upbringing, have survived, with women of Mulatto descent, like Marie-Pierre Delacomb, Yai Sang (Marie-Thérèse Descombes), Thérèse Molinet Carayol,

Joanna Quin Moury and Mbugul (Clothilde) Quin,[1] renowned in their neighbourhood for their strictness in 'training' children.[2] Another aspect of the Wolofness of the Mulatto descendants on both sides of the border emerges when a griot[3] praises their ancestry at family festivities. For the Turpin family of Kaolack references would be made to notables of the Mulatto community in Gorée: "Benn nit ci meer de wili, Sang Kunja ak Blés ak Maam Mariyan" (One person, Mayor of the town, Jean Koundia and

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1. The acceptance of Wolof nicknames by these women is further evidence of their integration, e.g. Yai Sang means 'Father Jean', after her father Jean Descombes of Gorée; Mbugul is the name given to a child that is 'not wanted'. This latter custom arises out of respect for a previous child that has died, and to avoid encouraging the loss of the subsequent child - a custom common throughout Africa.

2. 'Training' in Gambian English is important in relation to the concept of 'bringing up a child properly'. The custom of entrusting a child for upbringing to a close relative, or to someone who commands respect, is implicit in the following Wolof phrases: Denk naa laa suma doom (I am entrusting my child to you (for 'training'); Yaaral ma suma doom (You must educate my child on my behalf). Denk (W.): to entrust; yar (W.): to educate. Cf. Marone,O., 'Essai sur les fondements de l'éducation sénégalaise à la lumière des métaphores aqueuses de la langue wolof', BIFAN, t. XXXI, sér.B, No.3, 1969,p.829. Kobès & Abiven (1922:372) list yarlu in their Dictionnaire wolof-français as a verb meaning "confier un enfant à quelqu'un pour l'éducation, se faire élever son enfant."

3. The griot serves as the praise-singer or genealogist in the low caste of Wolof, Manding and Fulbe social stratifications. The term griot is widely used in Senegal and the Gambia, but the Wolof refer to them as gewel, the Manding as jalo or fino, the Fulbe as farba gawlo. On the traditional role of the gewel, see Gamble (1967:45).

Table V: Mulatto Trading Families : The Influence of the Official Language of the Country of Origin (OL1) on the Subsequent Employment of Children.

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M60+	F60+	F60+	F60+	M60+
A2 Birthplace	Dakar	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul
A3 Education	Primary & secondary	Primary	Primary	A little primary	Secondary & teacher training college
A4 Occupation	Accountant & letter writer	Retd bilingual secretary	Housewife	Retd lady's maid	Retd civil servant & diplomat
A5 Residence	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul
Senegambian contact					
B1 Kin & affines	✓	✓	✓	✓	/
B2 Occupation	✓				
B3 Religion		✓			
B4 Education	Senegal & France	Convent in Dakar(5)		2 brothers in law & uncles educated (S) & worked for French companies (G)	Two aunts were nuns (S) - uncles and cousins educated (S)
Language repertoire					
C1 HL1	French	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2	Wolof				
C3 LWC (A2)		Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education (A3)	French	French & English (on return to Banjul)	English	English	English
C5 L/Religion	French Latin	French Latin	English Latin	English	English
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	French (when worked for Barthès) French for correspondence. Wolof or English with clients	French English	Wolof	English	English
C8 OL1	French	French	English	English	English
C9 OL2	English	English			a little French
C10 S/G LWC	French (B2 & B4) Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1) French (B4)	Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1)
Other					
E1 Migration from/ to Senegal	Transferred originally by Barthès et Lessieur	Greatgrandfather from Gorée (S) Mother from Rufisque (S)	Father transferred as accountant for Maurel & Prom.	Grandfather traded at Albreda	Grandfather traded at Albreda
E2 Related trading families		Delacomb/Mory/ Quin/Valentine/	Turpin/Descombes	Valantine/ Carayol/Delacomb/	Delacomb/Allègre
	V:1	V:2	V:3	V:4	V:5

Table V: Mulatto Trading Families: The Influence of the Official Language (OL1) of the Country of Origin on the Subsequent Employment of Children

Background					
A1 Sex $ Age	F40+	F40+	F40+	M60+	F60+
A2 Birthplace	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul
A3 Education	Secondary & teacher training	Primary	Primary	Primary	Primary
A4 Occupation	Teacher	Housewife	Social security assistant	Retd CFAO deputy manager	Housewife
A5 Residence	Banjul	Banjul	Dakar	Banjul	Banjul
Senegambian contact					
B1 Kin & affines	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
B2 Occupation					
B3 Religion					
B4 Education	Uncle educated (S) then worked for CFAO (S).	She & sister went to convent in St. Louis (S).	Sent with sisters to convent in St. Louis (S).	4 brothers born & educated in Senegal.	Daughters sent to convent in Dakar.
Language repertoire					
HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2		French			
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof & Aku	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education (A3)	English	French & English (before going to St. Louis)	French & little English primary education	English	English
C5 L/Religion	English Latin	English French Latin	French Latin	English Latin	English
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	English Wolof	Wolof	French Wolof	English Wolof	Wolof
C8 OL1	English	Some English	Some English	English	English
C9 OL2	a little French	more fluent French	French		
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1) French (B4)	Wolof (B1) French (B4)	Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1)
Other					
E1 Migration from/to Senegal	Grandfathers from Gorée. One transferred (G) by Barthès et Lessieur.	Father from France as representative for Maurel Frères (G).	Grandfather sent from France to Maurel Frères (G).	Father recruited by Maurel & Prom (G) & posted to (G).	Husband transferred from France by Maurel & Prom (G). Grandfather a British businessman.
E2 Related trading families	Descombes/Johnson/ Var/Delacomb/ Chery/Turpin/	Delacomb/ Granges	Molinet/Carayol/ Attred.	Descombes/ Delacomb.	Newton/Mory/ Delacomb/Johnson.
	V:6	V:7	V:8	V:9	V:10

Table V: Mulatto Trading Families: The Influence of the Official Language (OL1) of the Country of Origin on the Education and Subsequent Employment of Children

Blaise and Mame Marianne).[1] It is, however, appropriate that the Prom family in Dakar and Banjul should have their French merchant origins praised in Wolof: "Prom ak Ileer, Sang ma ca Bordó" (Prom and Hilaire, Jean of Bordeaux)[2], since it is the Wolof cultural influence that has predominated.

4.3.3.2. Senegalese families seeking professional employment in Banjul.

Certain features arising from the Senegalese background of the Mulatto community in the Gambia are further illustrated by other families who moved to Banjul for employment by French companies (Table VI). In Table VI, (9/11) informants had parents who had worked in a professional capacity for a French firm in the Gambia, while the remaining (2) had had direct personal experience (VI: 6,11). Like (4) of the informants in Table V, (10/11) of these had been recruited in Senegal, or had left

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1. Informants from the Turpin family referred to Pierre Turpin as having been Mayor of Gorée. F. Zuccarelli quotes instructions given by Schmaltz to Captain Baignères (ARS 2B2) to maintain Monsieur Turpin as mayor in 1817 (Zuccarelli,F., 'Les maires de Saint-Louis et Gorée de 1816 à 1872', BIFAN, t. XXV, sér.B, no.3, 1973, p.554). P. Lintingre ('La Cure de Gorée d'après ses archives' Afrique Documents, No.102-103, 2e & 3e, cahier, 1969, p.109,fn.154) refers to the signature of Pierre Turpin, Mayor of Gorée in 1819.

2. Louis Hubert Prom and his cousins, Hilaire Maurel and Jean-Louis Maurel, were the chief members of the family from Bordeaux who initiated the activities of Maurel & Prom in the region.

Senegal for the Gambia, because of their accounting or clerical experience. Several of the informants referred to the shortage of suitably qualified local personnel in the Gambia during the first half of the century. A knowledge of French was a significant factor in their recruitment, since few of the European management were fluent in English on arrival in Banjul.

Although all of the original migrant workers (Table VI:B2) had been trained in the French educational system, the emphasis on giving children the same educational experience did not arise to the same extent as in the Mulatto sample (Table V). Only (3) parents had sent their children from the Gambia to school in Senegal (VI:8,9,10), while (2) others (VI:2,4) had attended school in both countries because of their fathers' postings. The informants, who had been sent to school in Dakar or St. Louis, referred to their parents' perception of the greater social and professional mobility that French could lead to in the wider context of Senegal, in contrast to the more limited openings that English offered in the Gambia. This may also have been a factor in the preference shown by the Mulatto families for French education, although in the case of Mulatto girls (V: 2,5,7,8,10), the 'training' that they received in the Convents of St. Joseph de Cluny or La Conception Immaculée would be relevant to their future marriages, whether in Senegal or the Gambia.

However, it is significant that, taking informants from both Tables V & VI who had had experience of both educational systems (9/21), (7) had subsequently used both official languages in their profession. (4) of these found

their knowledge of English and French an advantage when working for French companies (V:2,7,; VI:4,6). All of the informants in both studies spoke some English, with one individual (V:1) finding the English that he had "picked up" in Banjul useful, in conjunction with his fluent French, for explaining legal and financial differences between the two countries. A Gambian informant (VI:6) had continued his education in Senegal and then used his knowledge of both official languages in working for an American company in Dakar, before being recruited to work for a French bank in Banjul in which his fluency in Wolof, English and French was important.

Although the greater currency of French in the context of Senegambia had been cited as a reason for their education in Senegal, the (3) informants involved (VI:8,9,10) had also found their knowledge of English, re-inforced by its study at secondary level, to be useful. Apart from using English, as well as Wolof in professional contact with the Gambia, they considered English to be particularly important at the wider international level for diplomatic and cultural missions.

Although the initial reason for contact between the two countries was professional (Table V: D1; Table VI: B2), all (21) informants had retained contact through kin and affines, with Wolof emerging as the language most commonly used (20/21). The (4) informants who had also been professionally involved with the neighbouring country nevertheless used Wolof as well as English and French for conducting their affairs.

Table VI: Families Originally Moving Between Senegal and the Gambia for Employment in French companies: the Acquisition of a Second Official Language (OL2) through Education and Professional Employment.

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	F60+	F60+	F40+	M60+	M40+	M40+
A2 Birthplace	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	St. Louis	Banjul
A3 Education	Primary	Primary	Secondary & teacher training	Primary	Primary & secondary	Primary & secondary
A4 Occupation	Housewife	Housewife	Head teacher	Retd clerk for Maurel Frères (G) then dealer	Teacher	Bank managerial clerk
A5 Residence	Banjul	Banjul	Latrikunda	Banjul	Bakau	Banjul
Senegambian Contact						
B1 Kin & Affines	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
B2 Father's occupation	Ass.Accountant Vezia (G)	Engineer Maurel Frères (S) → (G)	Storekeeper Le Commerce Africain (G)	Shipwright in French firm	Stepfather a cook for Maurel & Prom (G)	Personally trained in accountancy & worked for French firms in (S) 20 yrs.
B4 Education		✓ 2 years primary		✓ 2 years primary school in Ziguinchor(S).	Served in French army (as an originaire).	✓
Language Repertoire						
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2						
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof,Crioulo (Ziguinchor)	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education (A3)	English	French (S) 4 years English (G)		French & English (on return to Banjul)	English	English & French
C5 L/Religion	English	English Latin		English Latin	English Latin	English
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Mandinka Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	Wolof	Wolof	English with pupils, Mandinka usually with parents.	French to Boss. Wolof or Mandinka to clients.	English	French with Boss. (French bank in Banjul) English or Wolof with employees.
C8 OL1	some English	some English	English	English	English	English
C9 OL2		Has forgotten French	Some French from school	French	French (from army)	French
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1) French (B4)	Wolof (B1)	Crioulo (B1) French (B4)	Wolof	Wolof
Other E						French bank established in Banjul in 1968
	VI:1	VI:2	VI:3	VI:4	VI:5	VI:6

Table VI: Families Originally Moving between Senegal and the Gambia for Employment in French Companies: the Acquisition of a Second Official Language (OL2) through Education and Professional Employment

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	F6O+	M6O+	F4O+	M4O+	M6O+
A2 Birthplace	Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor	Banjul	Banjul	Cacheu
A3 Education	Primary & secondary	Primary English French primary → university	primary → university	University	Primary
A4 Occupation	Teacher	Diplomat	Headteacher	Theatre director	Accountant for Vézia (G) 1924-1930. Retd.
A5 Residence	Banjul	Dakar	Dakar	Dakar	Dakar
Senegambian contact					
B1	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
B2 Father's occupation	Clerk in French company	Clerk/accountant in French company	Accountant Maurel & Prom (G)	Accountant Maurel & Prom (G)	Father was a dealer from Gorée
B4 Education	Brother educated in Dakar	Started education in Banjul before being sent to relations in Dakar.	a little English education before being sent to convent (S)	3 years' primary education in Banjul.	
B5 Health	✓				
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2					
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof (came to Banjul when 3 years old).	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	
C4 L/Education (A3)	English	English French (University)	a little English then French → university	English then French → University	French
C5 L/Religion	English Latin	French Latin	French Latin	French Latin	French Latin
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof & Aku	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	English & Wolof		French (& English) former teacher	French Wolof	French Wolof
C8 OL1	English	English	English (teacher)	English	French
C9 OL2		French	French	French	a little English
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof	English (Gambian officials) French (High Commission) or Wolof (with family & those who speak neither French nor English)	Wolof (B1) English (with officials)	Wolof, some English	Wolof French
Other E		As a diplomat was posted to Senegalese High Commission (G) for a time.	Former English teacher. Now goes on occasional professional visits to the Gambia.	Occasional cultural exchanges.	
	VI:7	VI:8	VI:9	VI:10	VI:11

Table VI: Families Originally Moving between Senegal and the Gambia for Employment in French Companies: the Acquisition of a Second Official Language (OL2) through Education and Professional Employment

4.3.4. Oku families who have migrated from Sierra Leone to Senegal and the Gambia.

Introduction

The Oku are descended from the Liberated Africans or Recaptives who were settled in Freetown after being released by the Court of Vice-Admiralty[1] from ships taking them illegally to slavery in the New World. Although the Liberated Africans employed by Koelle (1854) as informants for his Polyglotta Africana originated from a wide area across West and Central Africa, Fyfe (1962:170)[3] points out that, by the 1820's, those from Yorubaland and the surrounding area predominated. Both Koelle (1854:5) and Clarke (1843:47)[4] use the term Akoo, or Aku, for Liberated Africans originating from the Yoruba area, but, despite the wide variety of ethnic backgrounds that Clarke identified[5], they followed the same pattern as other groups in the settlement by tending to live in village communities under their own headman, and forming mutual aid or benefit

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1. Porter, A.T., Creoledom, OUP, London, 1963, p.10, 36.

2. Koelle, S.W., Polyglotta Africana, Church Missionary Society, London, 1854, republished 1963 by Fourah Bay College, University College of Sierra Leone.

3. Fyfe, C., A History of Sierra Leone, OUP, London, 1962, p.170.

4. Clarke, R., Sierra Leone, African Publication Society, London, 1843, new impression 1969.

5. Idem, p.147: "... though known in this Colony by the name of 'Akoo', they are better known by the term 'Eyeos' or 'Yarribeans'; they are, moreover, distinguished into tribes, bearing the names of their native localities, Doholibah, or Joliba, Jebuh, Jessuh, Jffeh and Ebghwa, but all speaking the same dialect..."

societies.[1] Their numbers increased through the resettlement of captives displaced by the Owu war (1821), and the subsequent collapse of the Oyo empire[2], with their development as the most cohesive group in the colony reinforced through speaking dialects of the Yoruba language.[3] Despite divisive religious influences, an attempt was made during the latter part of the nineteenth century to re-unite those with Yoruba affiliations into a voluntary association led by an Aku 'king'[4], but the Muslims have persistently retained more aspects of their Yoruba background than those who became Christian.[5]

The Muslim Aku settled mainly in the North-eastern areas of Freetown around Fourah Bay, Foulahtown and Aberdeen, and so became known as the Fourah Bay people. Porter (1963:12) records that, by the beginning of the twentieth century, "the term 'Aku' had taken on a narrower meaning as referring exclusively to the Creole Muslim groups", but it is ironical that in the Gambia the term Aku has been retained for Christians of Liberated

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1. Fyfe, C., op.cit., p.171.

2. Idem, p.156.

3. Daryll Forde (1951:1,5) in the IAI ethnographic survey of Africa says that the term yoruba is loosely applied to people in South-western Nigeria speaking a "dialect cluster of the Kwa languages". He cites the close inter-relationship between the main dialects as the common unifying factor of the Yoruba, since, although the minor borderline dialects are not altogether mutually intelligible, many of these speakers also understand one of the major dialects.

4. Peterson, J., 'The Sierra Leone Creole: A Reappraisal', in Fyfe,C. & Jones,E.(Eds.) Freetown, Sierra Leone University Press, Freetown, 1968, p.113.

5. Fyfe, C., op.cit., p.186; Porter, A.T., op.cit., p.12; Banton,M., West African City, published for IAI by OUP, London, 1957, pp.4,5.

African descent, while Muslims, with similar origins, call themselves Oku. These Muslims still identify closely with their Yoruba heritage to the extent that, whereas the Christians now describe themselves as Aku, the Muslims refer to themselves as Oku or Yoruba. The Gambian Aku carry this distinction further by referring to the Muslims as Oku-Marabout, which illustrates the significance they attach to religious, rather than ethnic, ties. It should also be noted that the term Aku in Banjul is widely applied to any Christian of Liberated African or Recaptive descent, regardless of whether he has any Yoruba origins. The Oku, however, use both ethnic and religious affinities to emphasize their intra-group solidarity.

Although the Oku identify themselves as a particular group in Banjul society by proudly referring to their Yoruba heritage and worshipping at their own mosque in Allen Street, these affinities have been modified since the Fourah Bay people had to reconcile their ethnic and religious loyalties as a community in North-eastern Freetown. The establishment of a separate mosque in Banjul could have been a prolongation of the tendency for having their own mosques in Freetown. Peterson (1968:110) attributes this practice to the less orthodox Islamic ties, that originally distinguished the Fourah Bay people from the Muslims who had migrated to the capital from the interior. While it is not clear whether many of the Yoruba could have been Muslim before leaving their

homeland,[1] it is evident that their adherence to Islam in Freetown did not at first impinge on their traditional socio-political customs, but they gradually adopted a stricter Muslim way of life as their leaders became influenced by more orthodox Marabouts in the area.[2] Yoruba secret societies in Sierra Leone cut across religious affiliations, but the increasingly orthodox orientation of the Aku mosque led to prolonged factional strife in the 1890s and early 1900s[3] which included the controversial issue of whether Egugu members[4] should be admitted for worship.

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1. Peterson (1968:110) considers this possibility to be the reason for the particular nature of their belief in Islam, but Banton (1957:5) doubts whether the numbers who were already Muslim could have been very significant. Kopytoff (1965:32) mentions evidence that some of the Aku had been converted before leaving Yorubaland, but agrees with Banton (ibid) that "a determining factor in the Aku choice of Muslim affiliation was that the Mosque provided yet another excellent focus for a common and distinct identity".

2. e.g. those who studied with Fulbe or Mandinka teachers from Northern Sierra Leone, Mali or the Fouta Djalon. See Peterson (1968:pp.110-112) for examples of Alfa Legally Savage and Mohammed Sanusi.

3. Proudfoot (1962) and Peterson (1968) cite cases between different factions that reached the law courts.

4. Banton (1957:20) claims that this dispute arose because Islam forbids membership of secret societies, but this would appear to be an over-simplication. It presented a threat to orthodox Islamic belief in its connection with man's fate after death, while the medicinal powers of the oje could have undermined the authority of the Muslim leaders. Fabiyi and Sawyerr (1965:15,20) explain the traditional Yoruba belief in the Egungun: the ancestral spirit who 'returns' on the fortieth day after his death. Its fundamental connection with the Yoruba life-cycle thus threatened orthodox Islamic doctrine, and accounts for the frightening, as well as entertaining, connotations that the Egugu still seem to command in Banjul. For a summary of research into the Egungun cult groups in traditional Yoruba society, see Forde, D., The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of South-Western Nigeria, IAI, London, 1951, reprinted 1969, pp.18,19.

In contemporary Banjul, the Muslim Oku make frequent references to their Yoruba heritage, but only the leading members of the mosque were identified for not being able to fulfil their religious functions as well as belonging to secret societies or participating in masquerades. Egugu membership still includes Christians as well as Muslims, but the mosque itself is now 'tijanist' in orientation. This affiliation enabled Alfa Badamasi Savage, the father of the present Imam of the Oku community in Banjul, to become Imam of the main mosque in Basse, but leading Oku in the capital refer possessively to their 'Yoruba' mosque, and stress their Yoruba origins to underline their feeling of group identity.

Senegambian Language Usage

Both Muslims and Christians of Liberated African or recaptive descent in Freetown[1] and Banjul use Krio as their main home language. Although some groups of recaptives in Sierra Leone used their ethnic mother tongue initially, Krio became the language of wider communication between these village communities from diverse ethnolinguistic backgrounds. Fyfe (1968:7) reports that by the mid-nineteenth century, Krio had become the "medium of everyday communication and intimate speech". Blyden (1889, reprinted 1967:213) had described Krio as "the language of the domestic life, of courtship, of marriage, of death, of intensest joy and deepest grief. The people will not consent to speak of private matters affecting

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1. In Freetown the term Creole is used collectively to distinguish these groups from the indigenous population.

their domestic well-being in any other tongue...", but while this observation may have been accurate for the majority of the inhabitants of Freetown, many of the Fourah Bay people would still have been using Yoruba among themselves in the personal situations that Blyden listed. While the particular emphasis of the Muslims on their Yoruba cultural traditions enabled their language to survive longer than the other first languages of Liberated Africans, Banton's claim seventy years later (1957:153) that some of the five thousand Fourah Bay people still spoke Yoruba must have been a false impression in the 1950s when Krio had become the main home language. All the informants in this study affirmed that Krio (Aku) was their first language, as it had been that of their parents', but some of them drew attention to the influence of Yoruba on their Krio register.[1]

The Muslim and Christian Creoles who migrated to Banjul helped to establish Krio as another lingua franca in Banjul, and for occasional usage in centres up river, like Georgetown, where their trading interests brought them into contact with descendants of local Liberated African communities.

Clarke (1843:40) described the Aku as being "pre-eminently distinguished for their love of trading", a characteristic that they retained[2] when some of the

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1. This will be discussed further on p.256.

2. Allen Howard also comments on their commercial enterprise in Fyfe and Jones (Eds.), Freetown, 'The role of Freetown in the commercial life of Sierra Leone', Sierra Leone University Press, Freetown, 1968, p.47.

Muslim Aku, or Fourah Bay people, left Freetown during the second half of the nineteenth century to sell kolanuts from Sierra Leone in the Gambia and Senegal. The demand for kola grew as Islam spread across the area (Mahoney, 1963:239; Gamble, 1967:39); being easier to reconcile with the Muslim traditions of greeting and expressing goodwill, than tobacco or liquor. The Oku therefore became the principal organizers of the kola trade in both countries,[1] but they failed to retain this monopoly with competition from other traders and other sources[2] at the turn of the century.[3]

The different circumstances in which the Oku conducted their business have led to those, who have permanently settled in Senegal, becoming more integrated into the local population; whereas those, who have migrated to Banjul, have maintained their identity as a cohesive social group from Freetown. The separate ways in which these trading interests have evolved, including the subsequent development from seasonal trading to permanent settlement in their country of adoption have resulted in varying degrees of Wolofisation and language acquisition.

The Oku established small shops (bitig yi)[4] as

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1. Rancon (1894:456) cites the Gambia and Sierra Leone as the chief sources of kola for Senegal during his journey through the Upper Gambia region in 1891/1892.

2. e.g. Grand Bassam, the Ivory Coast.

3. Information from leading members of the Oku community, Banjul, 1975.

4. bitig b- (W.), derived from French: boutique, can be a small shop or covered market stall.

outlets for selling kolanuts in most of the main towns around St. Louis and Dakar.[1] All of the informants, who had had parents involved in this trade (14/20), commented that they had used Wolof exclusively as their language for commerce and extra-group relations, given that they were operating in mainly Wolof areas (Table VII:E2). A common language of government, and close maritime connections with Freetown, helped the Oku to settle more easily in the Gambia than Senegal. They established a Quranic school (ilékéyu)[2] in Banjul, using their own people as teachers. On the other hand, the Oku followed the example of the Christian Creoles in enrolling their children for formal, as well as Quranic, education. Peterson (1968:112) notes that, by the beginning of this century, the Muslim "sought the same benefits of Western education", leading to professional advancement, as the Christians, "but without the sacrifice of his religious beliefs". It is therefore not surprising that almost all of those interviewed (19/20) had had some formal education, despite their religious affinities. Although the Oku in the Gambia could educate their children in English-medium schools, traders in both countries sent them back to Freetown (A3), perhaps because of the greater opportunities in Sierra Leone than those in the small town up-river where the Oku dealer would be based for the trade season.

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1. e.g. Louga, Ngoumba Ngéoul, Kébémer, Ndandé, Kèlle, Mekhé, Tivaouane, Thiès, Khombole , Diourbel.

2. ilékéyu is derived from Yoruba: ile-eko, meaning school house.

In the Gambian sample some informants still continued this practice (VIII:D3), in cases where they themselves had been educated there, and had close family to whom they could entrust their children during their education; but the Oku interviewed in Senegal were tending to opt for French-medium schools.

An important factor in the development of the Gambian Oku community was the larger number that eventually chose to settle in Banjul, whereas those who traded in Senegal felt less at ease in a situation where French, rather than English, was the official language. This was accentuated in Banjul by also being able to use Krio (Aku) as a language of wider communication in contact with government officials. The comparative insecurity of the Oku in their Senegalese trading operations was evident when the Gouvernement-Général of A.O.F. in Dakar supported the Vichy régime in France (1940-1942).[1] 'Foreigners' were obliged to leave Senegal, and the Anglo-French boundary was closed. (5) informants referred to the large numbers of Oku who consequently returned to Freetown, with only a few families showing their willingness to integrate themselves into their trading country of adoption by choosing to remain.

The larger conglomeration of Oku in Banjul have been able to retain certain customs, secret societies and masquerades that their parents had preserved in Freetown as part of their Yoruba heritage, These included

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1. See Thompson, V. & Adloff,R., French West Africa, Allen & Unwin, London, 1958, pp.29, 30; Chailley, M., Histoire de l'AOF, Editions Berger-Levrault, Paris, 1968, pp.432.433.

the gẹ́j, the Yoruba engagement ceremony[1] that both Christians and Muslims in Freetown and Banjul celebrate, and the masquerades performed by the Egugu society at national, as well as family festivities. The scattered Oku families, who traded for a time in Senegal, could not develop the same feeling of cultural homogeneity.

It was also significant that the Oku who went to Banjul could extend their commercial interests to the groundnut trade in the provinces, whereas their brothers in Senegal were limited to selling kolanuts and general provisions on a small scale. The majority of informants (8/12) had taken kolanuts up-river to trade at the same time as dealing in groundnuts, leaving their wives to import the kolanuts wholesale from Sierra Leone. All of the Banjul informants came from families that had been involved as dealers, or middlemen, between the farmers who grew the groundnuts and the merchants who exported them. The (8) informants, who had been dealers (VIII:A4), considered Mandinka to be the main trading language outside Banjul, all claiming to speak the language fluently from being based up-river for the 'trade' season.[2] They also gave examples of how they had pragmatically picked up enough knowledge of the other languages spoken in the area, because "you are obliged to understand several languages

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1. Despite the English derivation of the term gẹ́j in Nigerian, Sierra Leonean and Gambian societies, both Christians and Muslims have adopted this Yoruba custom with slight modifications according to their religious practices.

2. The trade season lasts from October to May.

if you want to do business," and "if you don't hear[1] the language, you can't buy or sell." Although they would usually spend the remaining months of the year in Banjul, most of the informants (7/12) did not consider their Wolof to be as fluent as their Mandinka, since the latter was more important in trading up-river. All the traders spoke some Wolof, and could understand Fula when they heard it spoken, but they unanimously recognised the significance of Mandinka in conducting business in the provinces (Table VIII:C7).

The Òku considered Aku (Krio) to be less important as a Gambian trading language than Mandinka or Wolof, identifying it primarily as "the language spoken by people from Freetown", so that "we have to learn other languages to trade." It was generally agreed that it would be rare to have the opportunity to use the Krio language in commerce up-river, except in contact with those brought up in other Liberated African settlements, as well as those who spoke Pidgin through having served in the army[2] or having been in parts of Ghana, Nigeria or Sierra Leone where Pidgin serves as a language of wider

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1. Hear is frequently used in the sense of 'understand' in Gambian English.

2. i.e. the West African Frontier Force (W.A.F.F.). On the significance of Pidgin in the development of the W.A.F.F., see Haywood,A. & Clarke, F.A.S., The History of the Royal West African Frontier Force, Gale & Polden Aldershot, 1964, p.11. The original formation of the first Gambia company in 1901, using soldiers from the Sierra Leone Battalion, and the continuing close relationship between the Sierra Leonean and Gambian Units, is likely to have influenced the use of Pidgin as the main language of wider communication.

communication. In some cases, the Soninke would come into this last category, having learnt Krio through doing "diamond work" in Sierra Leone,[1] but three of the traders had picked up a little Serahuli through being based in the Basse area.

The majority of the informants (19/20) referred to their Yoruba ancestry, with some (10/20) citing grandparents who had spoken Yoruba as their first language, but for whom Krio was of secondary importance. The process of language shift can therefore be seen, with the influence of Krio as the dominant lingua franca, in the reversal of the situation for all the parents of those interviewed. The informants all came from situations in which Krio had replaced Yoruba as the main home language, but nevertheless claimed that there was a higher incidence of Yoruba loan words in their register of Krio, than in that of the mother tongue of the Christian Aku. Although it is unlikely that these Gambian registers of Krio differ to a significant linguistic extent, the Oku may emphasize their special register of Krio (which some of them called Oku), in order to underline their feeling of group identity apart from the other Muslim and Christian sectors of the population. A.T. von S. Bradshaw (1966:61) considers that this influence of the Yoruba language has been exaggerated, but, although he cites some two hundred words that could be of Yoruba origin, he omits to specify that the Muslim Creoles in Freetown would tend to use this vocabulary more than the

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1. See Section (4.3.6), p. 271.

rest of the population.[1] Two leading Christian Creole intellectuals, Arthur Porter and Eldred Jones, have commented on this lexical influence of Yoruba on the Krio spoken by the Fourah Bay people,[2] but no systematic comparative study has been undertaken on these registers. In this study the first language of the Oku is referred to as Krio (Aku) in order to avoid exaggerating linguistic differences with Sierra Leone, that the use of other terms, more commonly used in Banjul (such as Aku, Oku, Broken English, Pidgin), could imply.

Similarities between registers of Krio spoken by Muslim Oku in the Gambia and Sierra Leone would also have been increased by the tendency for older members of the Oku community to have been born and/or educated in Freetown (A2, A3). On the other hand, the younger generation interviewed had been born and brought up in Banjul, which may account for their identification of their first language as being the same as that of the Christian Aku, apart from admitting that they might deliberately include more Yoruba loan-words in conversation with the older members of the Oku community, out of deference and respect.

In the Gambian study nine heads of families stated Aku (Krio) to be their children's dominant home language, but in three cases Wolof or Mandinka was more, or as, important.

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1. Bradshaw, A.T. von S., 'A list of Yoruba words in Krio', Sierra Leone Language Review, No.5, 1966, pp.61-71.

2. See Jones, E., 'Krio: An English-based language of Sierra Leone' in Spencer, J. (Ed.), The English Language in West Africa, Longman, London, 1971, p.66; Porter, A. (1963:12).

arising from the influence of a marriage partner combined with the significance of this language in their trading milieu (Table VIII: D1). For the Oku in situations where Krio, Wolof and Mandinka serve as lingue franche, Krio predominates, but is not the exclusive trading language. The situation is different in Dakar, where, through less social cohesiveness and more marriages into Wolof families, most of the families interviewed (6/8) have adopted Wolof as their home language (Table VII:D1). In these families Krio (Aku) had been retained mainly for contact with relations from Banjul and Freetown, with occasional usage as a familiar language of endearment for young children. However, the replacement of English surnames[1] by local ones, such as Ndiaye and Touré, and the current tendency of educating their children in Senegalese schools (rather than sending them back to Freetown), can be seen as part of a conscious effort to integrate themselves into their Wolof environment.

Conclusion

Wolof thus emerges as having less significance for the Oku in the Gambia than for their relations in Senegal, despite the fact that both peoples are now based in two capitals where Wolof is the dominant lingua franca. The commercial interests of the Gambian Oku have led to different patterns of language acquisition, with Mandinka playing a more significant role than Wolof as a trade

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1. e.g. Dean, Wilson, Thomas, King, John, Savage.

language outside Banjul. The Oku in Banjul may now speak disparagingly about their Senegalese brothers for "having gone over to the Joloff", but all but one of the Senegalese informants had retained contact with Freetown, using Krio as the means of communicating with both Gambian and Sierra Leonean relations. Among the Gambian informants one person communicated with his Wolof half-sister in Wolof, but the remainder (11/12) specified that they would speak Krio with relations in Dakar (Table VIII:C10). For contact with other Senegalese people (whether in business, shopping, or consulting a marabout) Wolof would be used.

Krio therefore plays the restricted role of emphasizing intra-group solidarity between members of families originating from Sierra Leone, who are now based in the Gambia and Senegal. However, as contact between those in Senegal and those in Freetown lessens (concomitant to their increasing Wolofisation), Wolof is likely to play a more significant role in linking the descendants of Oku families in the Gambia and Senegal.

Table VII: The Oku in Senegal: The Evolution from Wolof as a Trading Language to Wolof as the dominant Home Language (HL1)

Background								
A1 Age & Sex	M60+	M50+	M40+	F40+	M50+	F20+	F30+	M60+
A2 Birthplace	St. Louis(S)	Louga (S)	Freetown	Mekhé	Rufisque	Thies	Banjul	Freetown
A3 Education	primary & quranic	primary & secondary in Freetown & Banjul	primary, secondary & Quranic in Freetown		Quranic, a little primary.	primary & secondary	primary & secondary in Freetown	primary & quranic in Freetown.
A4 Occupation	Accountant	Sales rep.	Shopkeeper	Housewife	Ex-teacher, now a clerk	Teacher	Embassy receptionist	Former mechanic, then trader.
A5 Residence	Dakar	Dakar	Ziguinchor	Dakar	Dakar	Velingara	Dakar	Dakar
Senegambian (G) & Sierra Leonean (SL) Contact								
B1 Kin & Affines	✓ (G & SL)	✓ (G & SL)	✓ (G & SL)	✓ (G & SL)	✓ (G & SL)	✓ (G & SL)	✓ (G & SL)	✓ (G & SL)
B2 Occupation								
B3 Religion		✓	✓					✓
Language Repertoire								
C1 HL1	Krio (Aku)	Krio (Aku)	Krio (Aku)	Krio (Aku)	Krio (Aku)	Krio (Aku)	Krio (Aku)	Krio (Aku)
C2 HL2				Wolof	Wolof	Occas Wolof	Wolof	
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Krio	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Krio	Krio
C4 L/Education (A3)	French Arabic	English Arabic	English Arabic		Arabic French	French	English.	English & Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	a little Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof, Crioulo, Jola Fom.	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	French Wolof	French Wolof v. occas. English	Wolof, Crioulo, Jola, French, occas. Mandinka.	Wolof	Wolof French	French	French English	Wolof
C8 OL1	French (A3)	English(A3)	English	French v. ltd	some French	French	English(A3)	English
C9 OL2		French (at night school).	French (private study).				French (at school & priv.study)	A little French
C10 S/G LWC	Krio	Krio	Krio (B1) Arabic(B3)	Krio	Krio	Krio	Krio	Krio
Children's language repertoires								
D1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Krio	Wolof	Wolof	-	Wolof	Krio
D2 HL2	v.little Krio	a little Krio	Wolof	a little Krio		-		
D3 L/Education	French Arabic	French for the majority, but 2 sent to Freetown.	undecided	French & Arabic	French	-	French	sent back to Freetown for education.
Other								
E1 Migration from Freetown	Father left Freetown to trade in St.Louis(S)	Father in Kolanut trade at Louga (S)	Father traded in Louga (S)	Parents traded in St.Louis, Ngoumba Ngéoul & Mékhé (S)	Father traded in St.Louis, Rufisque & Kelle(S)	Grandfather traded in Louga & Thiès (S).	Parents left Freetown to trade in the Gambia	Father traded between Sierra Leone & Senegal.
E2 Trade L.	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
	VII:1	VII:2	VII:3	VII:4	VII:5	VII:6	VII:7	VII:8

Table VIII: The Oku Community in the Gambia: Varied Linguistic Repertoires and a Lesser Degree of Wolofisation.

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	M30+	M70+	M60+	M40+	M60+	M60+
A2 Birthplace	Banjul	Freetown	Banjul	Freetown	Basse	Freetown
A3 Education	BA (French)	Primary & quranic in Freetown	Primary & quranic	Primary & secondary in Freetown	Primary & quranic in Freetown	Primary & quranic
A4 Occupation	Diplomat	Retd. dealer	Retd. dealer	Accountant	Retd. clerk Imam	Retd. dealer
A5 Residence	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul
Senegambian(S) & Sierra Leonean (SL) Contact						
B1 Kin & Affines	✓ (SL & S)	✓ (S & SL)	✓ (SL)	✓ (S & SL)	✓ (S & SL)	✓ (S & SL)
B2 Occupation	✓					
B3 Religion		✓		✓ (SL)	✓ (SL)	✓ (S)
B5 Health			✓ (S)			
Language repertoire						
C1 HL1	Krio (Aku)	Krio	Krio (Aku)	Krio	Krio (Aku)	Krio
C2 HL2	Wolof					
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Krio	Krio Wolof (not fluent)	Krio	went as baby to Freetown	Krio
C4 L/Education (A3)	English	English Arabic	English	English	English Arabic	English Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	English French Wolof	Mandinka Wolof some Fula	Mandinka, a little Fula.	Wolof Krio	Arabic & Krio (as Imam)	Mandinka, some Fula.
C8 OL1	English (A3)	English	English	English	English	English
C9 OL2	French (A3)			some French		
C10 S/G LWC	French & Wolof (B2) Krio (B1)	Krio (B1)	a little Wolof (B4)	Krio (B1)	Krio	Wolof (B3) Krio (B1)
Children's language repertoire						
D1 HL1	Krio (Aku)	Krio (Aku)	Krio (Aku)	Krio (Aku)	Krio (Aku)	Krio (Aku)
D2 HL2	Wolof					
D3 L/Education		English (Freetown)	English & Arabic	English & Arabic	English & Arabic	English (Freetown)
Other						
E1 Migration from Freetown	Grandfather traded in St. Louis (S)	Father traded in Senegal & the Gambia.	Grandfather traded in Senegal, but father up river Gambia.	Grandparents came to the Gambia with Kolanut trade.	Father & brothers dealers in groundnuts.	Father traded in Rufisque (S), but he worked in Kaur & Kuntaur (G).
E2 Trade L.	Wolof	Wolof In Senegal	Wolof (S)	Mandinka & Fula up river	Mandinka	Wolof (S)
	VIII:1	VIII:2	VIII:3	VIII:4	VIII:5	VIII:6

Table VIII: The Oku Community in the Gambia: Varied Linguistic Repertoires and a Lesser Degree of Wolofisation

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	M40+	M50+	M40+	M50+	M50+	M50+
A2 Birthplace	Kanube	St. Louis	Banjul	Banjul	St. Louis	Freetown
A3 Education	Primary & secondary Freetown	Primary & quranic in Freetown	Primary & quranic	Primary, secondary & quranic Freetown	Primary & quranic in Freetown	Primary & quranic in Freetown
A4 Occupation	Dealer	Dealer	General retail business	Dealer	ex-Dealer, now shopkeeper	ex-clerk & dealer
A5 Residence	Kanube & Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Pakalabar & Banjul	Brikama	Banjul
Senegambian (S) & Sierra Leonean (SL) Contact						
B1 Kin & Affines	✓ (SL)	✓ (S & SL)	✓ (S & SL)	✓ (S & SL)	✓ (S & SL)	✓ (S & SL)
B2 Occupation						
B3 Religion		✓ (SL)		✓ (SL)	✓ (SL)	✓ (S & SL)
B5 Health						
Language Repertoire						
C1 HL1	Krio (Aku)	Krio	Krio (Aku)	Krio (Aku)	Krio	Krio
C2 HL2		Wolof				
C3 LWC (A2)	Mandinka	Wolof	Wolof	Krio	Krio	Krio
C4 L/Education(A3)	English Arabic	English Arabic	English Arabic	English Arabic	English Arabic	English Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof & Mandinka	Wolof	Wolof & Mandinka	Mandinka	Wolof
C7 WLs	Mandinka, some Fula, & Serahuli.	Mandinka, Fula & a little Serahuli.	Wolof, Mandinka, Occas. Fula or Aku.	Mandinka, occas. Wolof or Fula, English (accounts)	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof	Mandinka, Fula, some Wolof
C8 OL1	English	English (A3)	English	English	English	English
C9 OL2						
C10 S/G LWC	Krio	Krio	Krio but Wolof with half sister	Krio	Krio	Krio
Children's language repertoire						
D1 HL1	Krio (Aku)	Krio (Aku)	Wolof	Mandinka	Krio (Aku)	Krio (Aku)
D2 HL2			a little Krio	a little Krio		
D3 L/Education	English & Arabic	English (some Banjul, some Freetown),	English & Arabic	English & Arabic	English (some Banjul, some Freetown),	English (some sent back to Freetown).
Other						
E1 Migration from Freetown	Father came with kolanut trade, then worked as a dealer in Kanube (G)	Father went to St. Louis (S) as a trader	Father traded in Fatick (S)	Father a dealer at Karantaba (G)	Father went to St. Louis (S) with kolanut trade.	Parents came to the Gambia with kolanut trade.
E2 Trade L.	Mandinka	Wolof	Wolof	Mandinka	Wolof	Mandinka
	VIII:7	VIII:8	VIII:9	VIII:10	VIII:11	VIII:12

Table VIII: The Oku Community in the Gambia: Varied Linguistic Repertoires and a Lesser Degree of Wolofization

4.3.5. Gambian businessmen in contact with Senegal

The commercial importance of Dakar as a centre served by better port facilities than Banjul necessitates the import of certain goods into the Gambia via Senegal. Differentials in pricing and customs tariffs may have fostered 'traditional border trade',[1] but the movement of goods in legitimate transit between Dakar and Banjul has been complicated by the existence of two nations representing different economic zones, different import/export systems, and different languages of administration.

The representatives of the transit companies in Dakar, which handled the clearance formalities, as well as making arrangements with a local bank to guarantee the value of the goods in transit, was therefore particularly important. All (4) informants (Table IX: 1,2,4,8), who were working for companies that periodically imported material from Europe or America through Dakar, relied on the transiteur's professional knowledge of the formalities involved, as well as his fluency in Wolof and French. In each case, the Gambians communicated with the transit officials in Wolof. Although they had acquired some of the relevant technical vocabulary in French through going to Dakar to collect goods in transit once every month or six weeks, none of those interviewed felt competent enough in written French to fill out forms and customs declarations. Wolof thus played the important intermediary role of the

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1. This euphemism for smuggling (otherwise known as 'agression économique' in Senegal!) is discussed at greater length in section (4.3.7.).

oral language of communication between the Gambian businessman, the transiteur and the road haulage contractor, although French remained the written language used in the administration of their activities.

The businessmen interviewed in this study used both local and official languages of wider communication in order to promote their commercial interests. Wolof was cited as the main language of wider communication in business and social contact between Gambians and Senegalese (IX:C10), but the roles of English and French, as official, administrative languages, as well as major international languages, must not be under-estimated.

(3) informants were representatives of the Gambian branch of an international corporation (Table IX:3,5,7). Dependence on a regional office in Dakar meant that correspondence coming from Senegal was in French, but only (1) of the Gambians replied in the same language, having a degree in the subject (IX:3). Since all (3) were in contact with both English-speaking and French-speaking managerial personnel in Dakar, the other (2) had found that they had had to work on the French they had studied as a school subject, in order to communicate orally. All (3) considered that their knowledge of English and French had been an advantageous qualification when they had applied for their current post.

However, although (8) informants confirmed that in Dakar there was greater emphasis on the use of the official language in formal, office situations, closer inquiry revealed that French was always used in contact with French nationals. With Senegalese counterparts, however, French

would be important in initial contact, but Wolof would be used more often if they were in frequent communication. Even where both Gambian and Senegalese commercial agents had some knowledge of a second official language (IX:C9), Wolof emerged through familiarity as an easier alternative. Nevertheless, languages in contact (Weinreich, 1953), like 'Dakar Wolof' and French, gradually influence each other through frequent code switching and lexical borrowing, so that several Gambian informants (Table IX:4,5,7,8,9) commented on the high incidence of French derivatives in the Wolof registers spoken in Senegalese urban centres. Most of the informants had consequently learnt a little technical French vocabulary, all of them having acquired numerical skill and familiarity with Senegalese currency in French.

The expedient of speaking the same language as the client in order to gain the commercial initiative emerged strongly from this study. It was therefore not surprising to find that each informant had a varied linguistic repertoire, drawing on a minimum of three languages or dialects for the conduct of his business.

All of the (9) informants understood some English, including the businessmen who had had no formal education in this medium (IX:4,6), but who had acquired some oral fluency in Gambian English or Krio (Aku) through working in Banjul. A little knowledge of English was considered to be beneficial to business, even if it was limited to greeting leading figures in Banjul society, since all the informants attached a certain prestige to speaking the official language of government and administration.

Wolof and Mandinka were identified as the major lingue franche and commercial languages of the Gambia. Although some informants (IX:4,6,8,9) described Mandinka, as well as Wolof, as a lingua franca of the Banjul neighbourhood in which they had grown up, most of them (7/9) emphasized that the former medium was the dominant language of wider communication in the provinces. All of the informants except one (IX:5) spoke both Wolof and Mandinka, with two thirds of the sample (6/9) using both languages for commercial purposes. Krio (Aku) appeared to be less important than either of these as a lingua franca in Banjul, where some informants accounted for their fluency in this language through contact with neighbouring Aku compounds, Aku schoolchildren or Aku members of the civil service. Its relevance to commerce was of minor importance (IX:5,9).

Commercial expedience thus served to break the distinction between formal and informal languages, since a businessman did not hesitate to use a local Senegambian language, rather than English or French, if he thought this would be to his advantage. Formal barriers in business involving Senegalese and Gambian counterparts were sometimes modified by familiarity, so that Wolof, rather than French, was used, but the difficulties in achieving oral and written fluency in two official languages also meant that Senegalese and Gambian managerial staff sometimes found it easier to communicate in a common area language. However, the retention of the official language for written purposes facilitated commercial communication, given that correspondence from international corporations was in English or French.

Table IX: Gambian Businessmen in contact with Senegal: Languages of Wider Communication (LWCs).

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M40+	M30+	M30+	M40+	M30+
A2 Birthplace	Kaur	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul
A3 Education	Primary, Quranic	Secondary, Quranic	University, Quranic	Quranic	Quranic, Secondary
A4 Occupation	Cloth & clothing company (new & secondhand clothes). HQ Banjul, branches in Basse, Mansakonko, Kuntaur, Georgetown.	Cloth & secondhand clothing company	Manager for petroleum company	General assistant in trading company	Manager of Gambian branch of a shoe company
A5 Residence	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul
Senegambian contact					
B1 Kin & Affines	✓ Kin in Kaolack & Dakar (grand parents from Kahône)	✓ (Grandparents from Sine Saloum)	✓ Kin in Ndiaglé (Grandparents migrated)	✓ Kin in Dakar	✓Mother's first husband was Senegalese
B2 Occupation	Some imports via port of Dakar. Joint venture in similar business in Kaolack.	Some imports via port of Dakar, a lot of Senegalese traders buy from him.	Area includes Gambia & Casamance under regional office in Dakar.	Some imports via Dakar. They represent Peyrissac in Banjul.	Regional office in Dakar. Goes once every 1 or 2 months for a couple of days.
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Mandinka	Wolof
C2 HL2	Mandinka	-	-	Wolof	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof Mandinka	Wolof	Wolof Aku	Mandinka Wolof	Wolof Aku
C4 L/Education(A3)	Arabic English	English Arabic	English Arabic	Arabic	Arabic English
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof, Mandinka	Wolof	Wolof, Aku	Mandinka, Wolof	Wolof Aku
C7 WLs	Wolof & Mandinka mainly, occasionally Fula, a little Serahuli & Jola Foñi, English for written business.	Wolof & Mandinka (learnt through studying in Georgetown). Wolof with company handling goods in transit.	English (in Banjul office), Wolof/ poor Mandinka with garage managers. English for contact with HQ New York, French for contact with Dakar.	Wolof, some English, a little French.	English in Banjul office & to HQ in Canada. French to Director in Dakar. Writes to him in English but gets reply in French.
C8 OL1	English (from education)	English	English	English (picked up)	English
C9 OL2	v. little French	a few words	French (BA)	and a little French	French (at school & has learnt business vocabulary).
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof (B1 & B2)	Wolof (B1 & B2)	Wolof (B1) French (B2)	Wolof (with Senegalese).	Wolof (B1) French (B2)
Other					
E Comments			Use of English or Wolof with top government officials depends on degree of familiarity.	English & a little French with European managers in firms in Dakar. (B2)	
	IX:1	IX:2	IX:3	IX:4	IX:5

Background				
A1 Age & Sex	M40+	M40+	M30+	M50+
A2 Birthplace	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul
A3 Education	Quranic	Secondary & quranic	University & quranic	Secondary quranic
A4 Occupation	Manager cloth trading company	Manager for petroleum company	Manager of a state trading corporation	Manager airways corporation
A5 Residence	Bakau	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul
Senegambian contact				
B1 Kin & Affines	✓	✓Kin in Dakar	✓ Dakar	✓1 wife from Dakar
B2 Occupation	Used to get cloth & embroidered boubous in Dakar, but Senegalese traders now come to him.	Regional office in Dakar.	Goes once a month to collect goods in transit.	Worked with various airline companies in Dakar for 18 years. Still in contact through job.
Language Repertoire				
C1 HL1	Fula	Wolof	Serahuli	Serahuli
C2 HL2	Wolof	-	Wolof Aku Mandinka	Wolof Mandinka
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof Mandinka	Wolof, Aku, Mandinka	Wolof Mandinka Aku	Wolof, Mandinka, Aku
C4 L/Education(A3)	Arabic	Arabic	English Arabic	English Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof Mandinka	Wolof, Aku, Mandinka	Wolof, Aku, Mandinka	Wolof, Mandinka, Aku
C7 WLs	Wolof mainly, occasionally Mandinka or Fula	English, Wolof, Mandinka. English with British regional director, French with Senegalese managerial staff.	English, Wolof or Mandinka to traders. Wolof & a little French in transit formalities.	English with office staff, but Wolof, Mandinka, Aku, Serahuli, English according to language used by client.
C8 OL1	a little	English (from education)	English	English
C9 OL2	enough for bartering & dealing in a different currency	French at school & has tried to improve it with records.	Speaks a little from secondary education & working as diplomat.	French school certificate improved through holidays & working in Dakar.
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof (B1 & B2) a little French (B2)	Wolof (B1) English & French (B2)	Wolof (B1 & B2) a little French (B2).	French (B2) Wolof (B1)
Other				
E Comments		Worked 20 years for (FAO/Banjul) manager used to speak French to him. Fluent Mandinka through extensive travel to get clients during the trade season.	Worked as a diplomat in Senegambian Permanent Secretariat for 1½ years. Aku a home language through influence of Aku cousins.	
	IX:6	IX:7	IX:8	IX:9

Table IX: Gambian Businessmen in Contact with Senegal: Languages of Wider Communication (LWCs)

4.3.6. Soninke traders in Senegal and the Gambia.

The major role that the Soninke have consistently played in commercial activities in West Africa is partly derived from their willingness to apply themselves to any profitable occupation (Binger, 1886:3; Soleillet, 1887:viii), but their amazing mobility must also be taken into account. Niane (1960:62) has indicated that during the apogee of the Mali empire, in the thirteenth century, the Soninke inhabitants of Wagudu had already acquired their reputation for long distance commerce. Their readiness to travel widely in order to trade has led them to be regarded as the main commercial competitors of the Dyula, who are also characterised for their itinerant commercial enterprise.[1] Mungo Park (re-ed. 1954:303) noted the major role of the "Mandingoes" and the "Serawoolies" in commerce with the interior, but he distinguished between different types of trader, such as the juli and the slatee,[2] without identifying them with a particular ethnic group. The Dyula are considered to have been Mandinka originally,[3] which accounts for their reputation as commercial rivals to the Soninke,

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1. See, for example, Richard-Molard (1949:103) described the Soninke as "Extraordinaires voyageurs, ils sont les colporteurs traditionnels en concurrence avec les dioula dans tout l'ouest africain, intrépides trafiquants même à l'époque de l'insecurité, recherchant tous les profits.."

2. Mungo Park used the term slatee in 1805 to denote a free black merchant trading chiefly in slaves with his own capital, whereas he identified the juli as those who traded on credit.

3. See section (3.1.1.), p.120; p.122.

but with the development of the term dyula to include any itinerant trader,[1] it could thus be applied to the Soninke in the general sense, irrespective of ethnic origin.[2] The Soninke in this study can therefore be referred to as dyula because of their commercial activities, rather than any similar historical traditions.[3]

The dynamic commercial enterprise of the Soninke is illustrated by Table(X:A6), showing the places where the informants had worked prior to coming to Dakar or Banjul. Although all (13) informants considered trade to be their main occupation, those with some experience in Sierra Leone (X: 2,3,4,5,6,8) had done 'diamond work', while (2) successful businessmen had invested their profits in hotels (X:4,5).

Apart from (2) informants who were born in Mali, the remainder referred to home towns in the Upper River Division of the Gambia: the main location of the Gambian Soninke. Nevertheless, these Soninke also trace the patrilineage who founded their home towns to Eastern Senegalese and Malian origins.[4]

The extraordinary mobility and flexibility of the Soninke has enabled them to depart from their traditional

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1. The changing situational identity of this term has been discussed by Dalby (1971:50) and Lewis, B. (1971:173).

2. Particularly as it has been pointed out that this occupational usage of the term has been absorbed into several local languages, including Serahuli (Dalby, idem).

3. See section (3.1.2).

4. See section (6.1.2), p.397.

interests in agriculture and commerce for a short-term profitable occupation, such as diamond prospecting. This professional flexibility was reflected in their linguistic expertise. Soleillet (1887:viii) commented on their "facilité à s'assimiler les langues", while Binger (1886: 7) noted that "grâce à ses relations commerciales, il connaît toutes les langues et peut parcourir le Soudan en tous sens..." All (13) informants claimed to have a considerable degree of fluency in at least four Senegambian languages, which had been achieved through conducting their business with a variety of clients in the main trading centres of the area. Thus, although they all originated from predominantly Soninke villages, and would use their first language in business with other Soninke traders, Mandinka and Fula were cited as being essential in commerce in Basse. (11) informants had thus learnt these two languages from their initial commercial experience in this main market centre in the Upper River Division of the Gambia, with Mandinka identified as the major commercial language (Table X: C3).

The absence of any formal education in English or French had not restricted their commercial appetite or mobility. Where (7) informants claimed to be able to speak a little English, in (5) cases this had been acquired through their experience in Sierra Leone, concomitant to learning Krio as the main lingua franca of Freetown. Among the (8) informants who were based in Dakar, (6) had picked up a little French, but this tended to be occasional phrase or lexical item in a predominantly Wolof conversation. All the informants could use the different currency systems,

Table X: Soninke Businessmen in Senegal and the Gambia : Commercial Mobility and Linguistic Flexibility.

Background							
A1 Age & Sex	M40+	M40+	M30+	M40+	M40+	M50+	M50+
A2 Birthplace	Darsillami(G)	Darsillami(G)	Alohungari(G)	Alohungari(G)	Alohungari(G)	Alohungari(G)	Garawoli (G)
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Cloth trader in Sandaga Market	Cloth trader in Sandaga Market	Businessman	Businessman & hotel owner	Businessman & hotel owner	Businessman	Petty trader
A5 Residence	Dakar	Dakar	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Dakar	Dakar
A6 Previous places of work	Dakar, Basse (G), Zaire, Banjul (G).	Dakar, Basse (G), Freetown, Paris.	Thiès (S), Freetown	Sierra Leone, Zaire, Basse (G).	Basse (G), Zaire, Sierra Leone, Geneva.	Basse (G), Sierra Leone, Banjul.	Banjul (G), Guinea-bissau.
Senegambian contact							
B1 Kin & Affines	✓	✓	One Wolof wife ✓	✓	✓	✓ 2 wives from Alohungari	✓
B2 Occupation	Used to get cloth in Banjul	Goes once a month to buy cloth	2 or 3 yrs trading around Thies, business contacts in Dakar	Lets a house in Dakar. Cement & light fittings for new apartment block from Dakar.	Goes once a week to get building supplies for hotel extension. A lot of workmen Senegalese in origin.	Business contacts in Banjul & owns a house there.	Goes to Banjul once a month to get cloth & medicine.
Language repertoire							
C1 HL1	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli
C2 HL2	--	-	-	-		Mandinka (with mother)	
C3 LWC (A2)	Serahuli Mandinka Fula	Serahuli, Fuli, Mandinka	Serahuli	Serahuli (Fula, Mandinka, Bambara in Upper River Division)	Serahuli (Fula or Mandinka in Basse)	Serahuli (Fula & Mandinka in Basse).	Serahuli (but Mandinka, Fula & Bambara important in area)
C4 L/Education	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof or Krio	Wolof Mandinka	Wolof	Wolof
C7 Trade L.	Wolof	Wolof occasionally Fula (Tukulor) to other traders.	Wolof or Krio		Wolof, Mandinka or Krio, but Wolof to Senegalese workmen. Uses English with British manager.	Wolof a little French	Wolof
C8 OL1	-	-	Some English from Sierra Leone	a little English	Has picked up a mixture of Krio/English	Some English & Krio from Freetown.	-
C9 OL2	A little French	French from 3 years in France	-	v. little French	a little French (from doing business in Zaire & Dakar	Some French	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, Serahuli, a little, French	Wolof, Mandinka, French, Serahuli	Wolof Serahuli	Wolof Serahuli v. little French	Wolof, some French, Serahuli	Wolof. a little French, Serahuli	Wolof (main trading language). Serahuli or Mandinka (in Banjul-B1&B2)
Children's Language Repertoires							
D1 HL1	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli
D2 HL2	Wolof	-	Wolof	Wolof		Wolof	Wolof
D3 L/Education	Arabic (some in Quranic school, Basse)	Not old enough	Arabic	Arabic English	Arabic English	Arabic French	Arabic
Other							
E Comments	In Dakar since 1958	Brother was already established as a trader in Dakar.	Also spoke Fula, Mandinka, Jahanka & Bambara as a child. Learnt Wolof in Thiès.	Learnt Wolof in Banjul. A little French from doing business in Dakar.	Picked up some Wolof from traders in Basse.	Last 20 yrs in Dakar but has houses in Alohungari & Banjul.	In Dakar since 1940.
	X:1	X:2	X:3	X:4	X:5	X:6	X:7

Table X: Soninke Businessmen in Senegal and the Gambia: Commercial Mobility and Linguistic Flexibility

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	M60+	M50+	M50+	M60+	M60+	M40+
A2 Birthplace	Ségou (Mali)	Dembakunda (G)	Jabu (G)	Alohungari	Narang (Mali)	Sabi (G)
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Trader	Petty trader Tilene market	Petty trader Tilene Market	Cloth trader Wharf Town	Businessman Senegal/Gambia/ Guinea-Bissau	African art dealer
A5 Residence	Dakar	Dakar	Dakar	Basse	Banjul	Dakar
A6 Previous places of work	Ségou, Bansang(G), Thiès (S), Sierra Leone.	Stopped in Banjul on way to Dakar	Basse (G), Banjul (G).	Kaolack (S), Sokone (S), Dakar (S).	Kaolack his previous base	Freetown Banjul
Senegambian contact						
B1 Kin & Affines	✓	✓ Wives from Dembakunda	✓ Wives from Basse	✓	2 wives still in Kaolack	✓ Kin in Sabi
B2 Occupation	Used to get cloth in Freetown & Banjul			Used to sell cloth in Senegal	Import/export business	Trades between Dakar & Monrovia occasionally Banjul
Language Repertoire						
C1 HL1	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli
C2 HL2	Bambara	Fula	-	-	Bambara	Mandinka
C3 LWC (A2)	Serahuli Bambara	Serahuli, Fula, Mandinka	Serahuli, Mandinka	Serahuli (Mandinka & Fula in Basse)	Bambara	Serahuli Mandinka, Fula
C4 L/Education	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof Mandinka	Wolof
C7 Trade L.	Wolof, a v. little French & Fula.	Wolof	Wolof	Mandinka Fula Serahuli	Wolof & Mandinka (in Banjul); Wolof (in Kaolack); Crioulo (Bissau)	Wolof 'Liberian' English
C8 OL1	A v. little French	None, apart from counting.	-	A little English	Has picked up a little French.	A little English
C9 OL2			-	-	v. little, but some Krio.	a little
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, Serahuli	Wolof, Serahuli	Wolof, Serahuli	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof Mandinka Serahuli
Children's language repertoires						
D1 HL1	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli (with father), Bambara.	Mandinka
D2 HL2	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	-	Wolof	Serahuli Wolof
D3 L/Education	Arabic French	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic French	Arabic French
Other						
E Comments	Quranic studies in Bansang(G). 1 wife from there.	Wolof became fluent in Dakar.	Mandinka the main trading language in Upper River Division, but Wolof more important in Banjul & Dakar.			
	X:8	X:9	X:10	X:11	X:12	X:13

with recourse to the minimal English needed to count Gambian money, and the minimal French needed for transactions in the CFA franc.

Since (12/13) of these businessmen were based in Dakar or Banjul, Wolof emerged as the essential language for conducting their commercial interests. The only trader in the study working outside the capital cities (X:11) referred to Mandinka and Fula as the main trading languages of Basse, as had the rest of the sample who had had early commercial experience in this area. It was significant that only (2) traders (X:5,10) referred to the acquisition of Wolof during this initial trading contact in Basse, with (7) informants considering that their Wolof had become fluent through working in Senegal. A long period of settlement within an urban environment, like Dakar or Banjul, could gradually modify language habits, since the use of Wolof alongside Serahuli in the home arose in (4/5) cases where there were no Wolof affinal ties, but Wolof was the main lingua franca of the streets and market places of the neighbourhood.

4.3.7. Senegambian 'traditional commerce'.

'Traditional commerce' between Senegal and the Gambia has been nurtured by differentials in customs tariffs and price indexing inherited from the imperialistic economic policies of the colonial powers. The contrast between the highly "protectionist" trade policy followed by Senegal, and the economic "liberalism" evident in the Gambia (Van Mook et al., 1964:45; Harrison Church, 1972:331),

has contributed to the development of a marked difference between the cost of living in the two capital cities.[1] The Gambian government's liberal trade policy has fostered the import of consumer goods from the cheapest sources, some of which have been profitably smuggled across the border. Such 'economic aggression' has antagonised the Senegalese authorities since illicit traffic into the country adversely affects their budgetary revenue. The political significance of the 'smuggling issue'[2] has been accentuated by items, such as cigarettes, textiles, matches, etc., being in direct competition with Senegalese light industries. The Gambian economy, however, has benefitted from levying low customs duties on all merchandise entering the port of Banjul so that illicit border traffic in basic foodstuffs has also become a lucrative occupation. Different methods of paying the groundnut farmers have similarly been detrimental to Senegal's economic interests,[3] but this has been recently mitigated by special financial provision for Senegalese farmers living near the border, and increased vigilance by customs officials during the groundnut season.[4]

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1. See Van Mook et al. (1964:55); Harrison Church (1972:332), Abangwu (1972:61 et seq.).

2. See Hughes, A., 'Senegambia Revisited or Changing Gambian Perceptions of Integration with Senegal', in Senegambia (Proceedings of a Colloquium at the University of Aberdeen). Aberdeen University African Studies Group, 1974, pp. 150-152.

3. See Harrison Church (1972:332).

4. Information the courtesy of the Service des Douanes, Tambacounda, 15.4.75.

Joint discussions under the auspices of the Treaty of Association between Senegal and the Gambia (1967) have failed to reach agreement on the complicated issue of a unified customs policy; but this may receive greater impetus from the priority given to regional economic co-operation in the new programmes of the West African Economic Community (ECOWAS)[1] and the recently ratified Lomé Convention.[2] In the meantime (despite rigorous Senegalese attempts to protect their economy by increasing the numbers of police patrols and customs officials), enterprising traders still resort to expedients, such as travelling on isolated roads at night, or using fishermen as cover. The "economic pragmatism", that Ames (1962:53) noted with reference to the Gambian Wolof in Upper Saloum, must therefore be applied to all inhabitants of the Senegambia region who are involved in what the Gambians euphemistically call "traditional commerce". Cloth and medicine are among the most popular merchandise that these traders take to Senegal (Table XI: B2); but shortages in basic commodities (like sugar, rice or cooking oil) can lead to an increase in illicit trading in either direction, linking markets such as Basse (G) - Velingara (S), Basse (G) - Tambacounda (S), Kuntaur (G) - Koungheul (S), Kaur (G) - Nganda (S), Farafenni (G) - Medina-Sabakh (S), etc.

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1. ECOWAS envisages the gradual establishment of a free trade zone in West Africa, and a common tariff and commercial policy towards the rest of the world (See West Africa, 22.11.76).

2. The Lomé Convention, signed by 46 African, Caribbean and Pacific states and the EEC on 28 February, 1975, came into effect on 1 April 1976. It represents the first attempt to combine the interests of members of the franc zone with those of the sterling area.

Information about disparities between the prices of basic commodities in Senegambian market places can be transmitted by taxi-men working on trans-border routes, as well as by itinerant hawkers and pedlars, commonly referred to as dyula.[1] Ames (1962:54) observed a keen awareness about price differentials among migrant labourers, commenting how in Kaur "Strange farmers[2] and resident Gambian Wolof alike compare values in British and French trade stores with an experienced eye". The involvement of dyula or migrant workers in traditional commerce was facilitated by the acceptance of the five franc piece as legal tender in the Gambia from 1843 to 1922 (Gamble, 1949: 59). The continuing acceptance of Senegalese currency in Gambian markets[3] perpetuates the determination at a local level to exploit national differences between economic policies in the personal interest.

The transport of commodities from one country to another, without paying customs duties, necessitates information about the security system that is used to protect the national interest, as well as knowledge of the trading routes and outlets in the neighbouring state. It is therefore not surprising that the majority of traders interviewed (9/11) had lived for long periods in both

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1. See section (3.1.2.).

2. Strange farmer: Gambian English for migrant agricultural worker (nawetan:W.).

3. As personally observed in Basse, Kuntair, Kaur, Farafenni and Brikama.

Senegal and the Gambia, with all of them currently having second homes or close kin in the main market town where they bought or sold their merchandise (See Table XI: B2). This family home often provided a convenient base for the assembling or distribution of goods, but it was also apparent that, apart from these 'regular' traders, many people used a visit to kin or affines across the border as a pretext for a little trading on the side.

Some of the traders interviewed appeared to operate a complex network of business interests across several West African countries. They were naturally reluctant to elaborate on their different trading concerns, apart from discussing the market for basic commodities, but one Soninke businessman had extended his dealings in African art in Senegal and the Gambia to Liberia and the Ivory Coast. Like other merchants trading across national boundaries (Table XI:1,3,8), he had established homes in the two main centres for his trading operations: Dakar and Monrovia. He had found both of these capitals to be convenient for the collection of articles from the interior, prior to re-distribution via the 'relay' system[1] to neighbouring tourist markets, or for export to Europe and America. Another trader said that he only dealt in "cloth and wood", but later admitted that this entailed travelling across five countries in order to find carvings for the Gambian tourist market.

Fishermen, who leave Gandoul or Niombato (S) to fish off the Gambian coast or river during the dry season,

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1. Through which goods change hands between several traders before reaching the client. See Boutillier (1971:240), cf. section (5.1.1.), p.304.

are also in an advantageous position to profit from the disparity in prices between the two countries. Although most of the informants from the study of the Serer-Niominka were reluctant to admit to trading as well as fishing interests, several of those interviewed referred to shortages in Sine Saloum and on La Petite Cote in war time that had necessitated the transport of commodities from the Gambia on a large scale.

The experience of working in several countries that traders, such as the Soninke, have built up, can be extremely beneficial to 'traditional commerce', particularly in that the linguistic competence acquired in one situation may later be useful in a completely different enterprise. For example, the knowledge of Krio, that some of the Soninke had attained when diamond prospecting in Sierra Leone, had later helped them in conducting business in Banjul or Monrovia, not only because of similarities between Aku, Krio and Liberian Pidgin, but also because the English derivatives in these languages made it easier for them to understand the official language.

The businessmen in this study seemed to attach some prestige to their knowledge of the official language, however minimal, perhaps seeing its usage in greeting civil servants in the streets of Banjul as a reflection of their commercial success and rising social status. Nevertheless, greeting a customs official or border guard in the official language, prior to presenting their case in a common language, was admitted by one informant to be designed to emphasize their recognition of the official's

importance, in the hope that such deference would make him less intransigent in his interpretation of the law.

However, the main characteristic of these businessmen was their impressive multilingual competence that resulted from trading with such a wide variety of people from different ethnic backgrounds. Most of the informants re-iterated that 'traditional commerce' necessitated a certain linguistic flexibility, which involved switching languages or registers according to the language in which the client or middlemen felt most at ease, in order to gain the advantage. Although none of the informants claimed to speak all the languages involved fluently, it seemed that their knowledge of minor Senegambian languages, such as Jola Foni or Manjaku, would be limited to a commercial situation. The enterprise of the traditional traders can thus be illustrated by their choice of market irrespective of national boundaries and by their expedient attitude towards language acquisition and usage. The more successful informants considered that those who made no effort to learn other languages for the promotion of their trading interests, were destined to remain at bana-bana[1] rather than 'big man' level.

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1. Bana-bana (W.) petty trader.

Table XI: Senegambian Traders: Multilingual Competence in the Interests of 'Traditional Commerce'.

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M70+	F50+	F50+	M40+	M40+
A2 Birthplace	St. Louis (S)	Banjul (G)	Ziguinchor (S)	Kaolack (S)	Sokone (S)
A3 Education	Quranic	Some primary	-	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Wholesale merchant with shops in Karang & Sokone	Trader (fruit, vegetables, cloth, medicine)	Restaurant & small hotel owner who sometimes trades in cloth	Trader in Banjul	Cloth trader
A5 Residence	Sokone (S)	Ziguinchor (S)	Ziguinchor (S)	Banjul (G)	Kaolack (S)
Senegambian contact					
B1 Kin & Affines	1 wife & home in Banjul	/ daughter in Banjul	Married in Banjul for 9 years. Daughter there.	√ Kin in Kaolack & Touba.	√ Cousins in Banjul & Serrekunda.
B2 Occupation	Goes to Banjul at least once a month re commercial interests.	Goes once a month to sell fruit & vegetables to hotels. Buys cloth & medicine for sale in Ziguinchor.	Trades in cloth after visits to the Gambia every 2 or 3 months.	Goes to Kaolack to sell cloth, soap, etc. Brings back vegetables.	Goes to Banjul at least once a month to buy cloth (especially cuub).
Linguistic repertoire					
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Jola Foñi	Wolof	Fula
C2 HL2	-	-	Wolof, Crioulo.	-	Wolof
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof, Aku, Mandinka	Wolof, Crioulo.	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	English	-	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	French, Latin, Crioulo	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof, Crioulo, Mandinka	Wolof, Crioulo, Jola Foñi, Mandinka	Wolof	Wolof
C7 Trade L.	Speaks both Wolof registers of Sokone & Banjul. Wolof the main trading language.	Crioulo or Wolof in market but may speak Mandinka, Fula or Crioulo when buying fruit.	Wolof (in Ziguinchor Market), Wolof or Mandinka in Banjul.	Wolof, Fula or Aku (from Sierra Leone & Banjul)	Wolof
C8 OL1	A little French	Some English interspersed with Aku.	A little French	-	Counts in both French & English
C9 OL2	A very little English	v. little French	-	A little English	
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, a little Mandinka	Wolof (B1 & B2)	Wolof or Mandinka in trade, Fula (with kin)	Wolof, Aku, Fula	Wolof (B2) Fula with kin.
	XI:1	XI:2	XI:3	XI:4	XI:5

Table XI: Senegambian Traders: Multilingual Competence in the Interests of 'Traditional Commerce'.

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	M60+	M40+	M60+	M50+	M70+	M50+
A2 Birthplace	Fatick (S)	Sinyanen (S) near Kaolack	Narang (Mali)	Alohungari (G)	Ngadior (S)	Diourbel (S)
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Retired trader	Petty trader	Trader (Senegal/ Gambia/Guinea Bissau)	Trader (Dakar/ Banjul/Freetown)	Used to fish & trade between Toubakouta & Banjul	Trader (in cloth & carvings)
A5 Residence	Lamine (G)	Banjul (G)	Banjul	Dakar	Ngadior (S)	Brikama (G)
Senegambian Contact						
B1 Kin & affines	✓ Kin in Fatick & Kaolack	✓ Kin in Dakar & Kaolack	House & 2 wives in Kaolack	✓ House in Banjul	✓ House in Banjul	✓ Kin in Dakar
B2 Occupation	Used to trade between Banjul & Kaolack (from Lamine).	Trades mainly in kolanuts but sometimes sells Gambian cloth through brother in Dakar.	Imports & exports to Senegal & Guinea-Bissau.	Trades between Dakar, Banjul & Freetown.	Used to take rice, oil & sugar to Touba-kouta on fishing expeditions.	Travels to Mali, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast & Senegal to find carvings and cloth.
Linguistic Repertoire						
C1 HL1	Serer-Sine	Fula	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serer Niominka	Wolof
C2 HL2	Wolof	Wolof	Bambara	-	-	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Bambara	Serahuli but Fula & Mandinka in Basse	Serer Niominka	Wolof
C4 L/Education(A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof, Aku, Mandinka.	Wolof, Mandinka	Wolof	Mandinka (in Toubakouta).	Mandinka & Wolof
C7 Trade L.	Wolof	Wolof, Mandinka	Wolof & Mandinka (in Banjul); Wolof (in Kaolack); Crioulo (Bissau).	Wolof or Mandinka (in Banjul); Krio (in Freetown); Wolof (in Dakar).	Mandinka & Wolof	Occasionally Fula or French.
C8 OL1	-	Picked up French through 5 yrs as a houseboy with a French family.	Has picked up a little French.	A little English.	-	Some French
C9 OL2	Very little English	A little English from Krio learnt in Freetown.	Very little but some Krio.	Has picked up a little Wolof	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof	Wolof, Mandinka.	Wolof	Wolof, Mandinka.	Wolof, Mandinka.	Wolof, Mandinka, French.
	XI:6	XI:7	XI:8	XI:9	XI:10	XI:11

Table XI: Senegambian Traders: Multilingual Competence in the Interests of 'Traditional Commerce'.

Conclusion

These studies of different groups of people who have migrated for commercial reasons, or whose business necessitated contact with the neighbouring country, illustrate how the impetus of a business initiative or professional advancement can influence language choice and acquisition. Varying degrees of fluency in the languages used for commercial purposes were detected, but oral skills, whether in the official language, or in the dominant lingua franca, were of primary importance. The use of the official language may have been prescribed initially for formal situations involving business transactions, but, unless the counterpart was European, the Gambian businessman usually reverted to Wolof, the common language in which he felt most at ease.

The migration patterns in this section entailed some integration into the new community, which included adopting the language(s) used by the majority of its members, sometimes weakening cultural, educational and kinship ties with the country of origin. The Mulattoes in the Gambia had consciously retained some of their intra-group solidarity by educating their children in French-medium schools in Senegal, but their subsequent integration into Banjul society had resulted in a greater emphasis on their Wolofness, rather than their Frenchness. However, the Senegalese descendants of the Oku were more Wolofised than their Gambian kin and affines, partly because the different linguistic environment had undermined the group identity that the Gambian Oku had maintained.

The Soninke, who had settled in Dakar, had also begun to use Wolof in their homes, as well as their first language, mainly through its influence as dominant lingua franca of the environment. In the cases of those who were non-Senegalese in origin, the acquisition of Wolof (sometimes initiated by working in Banjul), had been accentuated by subsequently settling in Dakar. The phenomenon of Wolofisation, which appeared to accompany migration from the rural to the urban context of the capital, was thus more evident in Dakar than in Banjul, because in the former situation the Wolof language does not have to compete to the same extent with other lingue franche.

Different patterns of language usage emerge from a comparison of the informants in Tables X & XI (all but one of whom had no formal education in English or French), with the (7) Gambians from Table IX who had studied in the official language. All (9) informants from Table IX were in close contact with Senegal, but the scale of their operations required fluency in at least one official language. In a field like hotel management, where a lack of formal training could be a drawback, the (2) Soninke businessmen (X:4,5) had overcome this difficulty by employing British personnel with administrative and accounting experience. They had not attempted to operate in the same international sphere as the businessmen in Table IX, who had found the acquisition of two official languages to be to their professional advantage. Nevertheless, Tables IX, X, XI also illustrate the social significance of a limited knowledge of the official language in commerce,

whether to ensure friendly relations with civil servants by greeting them with deference, or merely in order to count in both currencies.

Although their commercial activities could reach the level where some knowledge of the official language was useful, the informants in Tables X & XI depended for this on their ability to learn languages through conducting business orally. The multilingual expertise that characterised the Senegambian traders in the last two Tables (X & XI) reflected their adaptability to diverse commercial situations, in which they resorted to any linguistic medium that would promote their interests. 'Traditional commerce' necessitated a high level of linguistic flexibility in order to conclude transactions satisfactorily, with the traders interviewed preferring to use the language of their client as far as possible.

In the majority of cases, Senegambian kinship ties had served to strengthen commercial ties, but, among formally educated Mulatto and Wolof trading families originating from Senegal (Tables V & VI), links with kin and affines, rather than commerce, had been retained by the present generation. Wolof emerged as the main language used for both social and commercial contact between Senegalese and Gambian informants, but, where traders had Mandinka or Soninke origins in common, they tended to conduct their business in their ethnic mother tongue.

LANGUAGE USAGE AND OCCASIONAL MOBILITY

4.4. Language Usage in Senegambian Road Transport

4.4.1. Introduction

This study of those involved with the road transport system between Senegal and the Gambia describes two categories of drivers, divided according to the frequency of their border crossings. The first category (Table XII) relates to those drivers working regularly[1] on routes linking Senegal and the Gambia, whereas the second category (Table XIII) includes those drivers, based in the Gambia, whose work sometimes took them to Senegal, as well as those of Senegalese origin, who occasionally crossed the border to visit kin in their home village. All the informants in these two tables had been involved in the transport business, as drivers of communal taxis, lorries or private cars, used in either country or else on routes linking the two states. They could be characterised by their linguistic flexibility, which arose directly from having to move between the diverse speech communities of the area in the exercise of their profession. The third part of the study consists of mechanics whose profession had taken them to the neighbouring country to find work. Table XIV is designed to illustrate, in comparison to Tables XII and XIII, how the mechanic, being static, felt less obliged to use local lingue franche as working languages in a domain where Wolof emerged as the main language used among fellow mechanics and drivers.

The Senegambian routes listed under the past and present experience of the drivers in Table XII includes

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1. i.e. at least two or three times a week.

all the communal taxi circuits on the main roads linking Senegal to the Gambia. The Senegambian communal taxi system links the main towns of the area covering Kaolack/Barra (for Banjul), Kaolack/Farafenni, Kaolack/Ziguinchor (Trans-Gambian route via Farafenni), Banjul/Ziguinchor, Basse/Velingara, Koungheul/Kuntaur (see Map B).

4.4.2. Language usage in Senegambian contact

Language usage among the taxi drivers on these routes followed a certain pattern of linguistic behaviour as they passed into what Fishman (1965) calls the different role-relations associated with their work domains. The taxi driver switched codes according to whether he was in contact with the head of the taxi garage[1], other taxi drivers, the apprentice, immigration and customs officials, or passengers. The drivers interviewed considered such flexibility to be essential for the smooth organisation of passenger transport, since the speed with which they preferred to operate was accentuated by rapid code switching.

For example, taking the taxi garage as the point of departure, good relations with the head of the garage were necessary since he was responsible for the order in which the taxis filled up with passengers and left for their destinations. Although the head of the taxi garage in Basse (XIII:5) thought that it was an advantage to be able to speak the main lingue franche of the area (Mandinka, Fula and Serahuli) with passengers, he identified Wolof as the language that he most frequently used with drivers.

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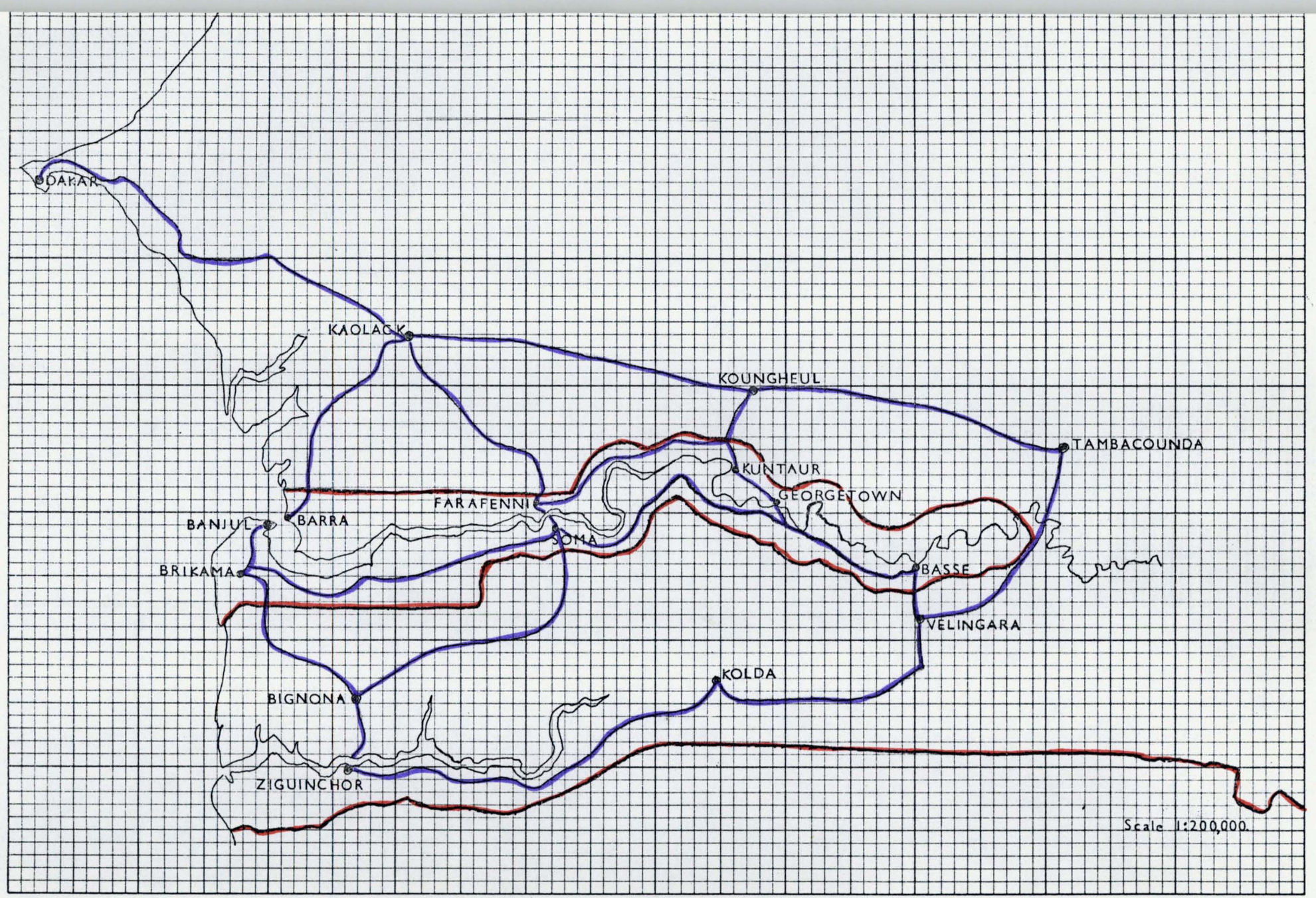
1. Taxi garage (Gambian English): Communal taxi arrival and



Map B - To show Senegambian communal taxi routes.

All the informants agreed that this was the case in the main taxi garages of the Senegambia border region,[1] perhaps because all the heads of these garages happened to be Wolof. The wide currency of Wolof as a trading language (which non-Wolof drivers have usually acquired through being apprenticed as driver/mechanic in a large commercial centre) must also be taken into account as a contributory factor to its usage in the transport business. However, Wolof could not be referred to as the exclusive language for communication between the head of the garage and the drivers, since, although it was used more than any other language in this domain, it lost this function if they had a different first or second language in common.

Wolof was regularly used between the driver and his apprentice. For example, the Aku driver (XII:1) always spoke to his Jola Foñi apprentice in Wolof, even though the latter had learnt some Krio (Aku) from lodging in his boss's compound. The same driver used Wolof in contact with other drivers met during the journey, except for a conversation in which he switched from Wolof to Krio (Aku) in his excitement at narrating an accident that he had just witnessed. Although drivers asserted their authority by always using Wolof with subordinate apprentices, in communication with colleagues the use of the dominant working language was sometimes modified by a natural reversion to a home language that the other driver shared.

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1. i.e. Banjul, Barra, Farafenni, Basse, Kuntaur, Soma, Brikama-in the Gambia; Kaolack, Velingara, Tambacounda, Koungheul, Bignona, Ziguinchor-in Senegal.

At border posts the taxi driver made a conscious effort to treat the immigration or customs officer respectfully, using the official language with deference in greetings, such as "Halo sa! Haw di monin?", or "Bonjo patron! Nanga def waay?" (in order to create a good impression). The driver then normally continued the conversation in Wolof, using a friendly tone to ensure a smooth passage through the formalities (for a quick resumption of the journey). The taxi drivers involved were using these routes at least two or three times a week during the trade season, and so were anxious to maintain good relations in the event of doing a little 'traditional commerce'[1] on the side. In a comparison of linguistic behaviour on both sides of the border, (4) of the drivers on Gambian/Senegalese routes (XII:1,3,7,11) switched codes in Wolof when they found themselves addressing Senegalese, rather than Gambian officials. The Wolof register that these drivers used after crossing into Sine-Saloum or Casamance was characterised by French loan words and phrases that had been less evident in their 'Banjul' Wolof. These informants believed that such code switching helped to make reputably difficult officials more amenable. The same habit of switching registers was adopted by the Fula-speaking drivers who deliberately used a local Fula dialect, such as Fula Balwaalo, or Fula Fuladu, when dealing with Fula clients from the relevant area.

Apart from greeting officials in English or French the different currencies were usually counted in their

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1. See section (4.3.7.).

respective official language. Some drivers also demonstrated their characteristic expedience by using a few simple phrases in the official language: "where you go?", "Barra/Dakar, you pay one tousand, tree hundred". This rather peremptory usage of the official language appeared to be designed to hurry up passengers who were hesitating about departure. The apprentice also used the official language when he wanted to give an imperious-sounding signal for depart or stop: "Avance!"/"Arrête!" or "OK! Go!" /"Stop!", accompanied by a sharp rap on the taxi roof. Only (2) drivers (XIII:1,6) used English constantly in their work domain, because they were working for non-African employers; but most drivers understood the technical terminology for parts of the car in English and French, as a result of using garages in both countries.

Drivers of taxis, or lorries collecting groundnuts in complex speech communities, adopted the practical approach of trying to speak the major languages of wider communication in order to get local custom. The majority of the informants in Tables XII and XIII, who had worked in areas with clients from diverse linguistic backgrounds, had learnt some local registers of languages, apart from Wolof.(10/19) drivers in these two tables claimed to speak at least three major lingue franche fluently from working in the Gambia. This oral expertise perhaps reflected only a restricted use of these languages, arising out of constant movement between the two countries, since, for the collection of passengers, only a limited knowledge was necessary. Frequent code switching between different local languages was particularly evident when they were

trying to assemble enough passengers to fill the taxi, reflecting their impatience to depart. Some knowledge of the different lingue franche of the region was undoubtedly essential to the driver, even if this was limited to chivying passengers in the taxi garage, or greeting potential clients in the villages on the taxi circuit.

Table XIV has been included in this section because of the comparative relevance of the informants for the same transport business. Expertise in several languages was illustrated by only (2) of the mechanics (XIV:1,4), but these two individuals were in the special position of workshop manager in which it was useful to be able to communicate in different linguistic codes, according to the first or second language of the client. These two workshop managers were praised by the members of their respective teams for their 'international' habits, since only (3) of the remaining mechanics in this study had limited fluency in Fula or Mandinka, despite long periods of residence in their current place of work. Nevertheless, all (18) informants in Tables XII, XIII and XIV re-iterated that, while knowledge of local languages of wider communication might serve a useful social function; for contact with the permanent inhabitants of the area, for work purposes Wolof was essential, especially as the majority of their clients were Wolof-speaking drivers or taxi owners.

Table XII: Taxi Drivers on Senegambian Routes: Rapid Code-switching in different Speech Communities.

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M50+	M40+	M30+	M40+	M40+
A2 Birthplace	Banjul (G)	Conakry (but father from Sokone)	Banjul (G)	Kaolack (S)	Kaolack (S)
A3 Education	Primary	Quranic	Primary	Quranic	Primary & quranic
A4 Occupation	Taxi driving business	Taxi driver	Taxi driver	Taxi driver	Taxi driver
A5 Residence	Banjul	Kaolack	Basse	Kaolack	Kaolack
Senegambian Contact					
B1 Kin & Affines	-	✓ Banjul	✓	-	✓
B2 Occupation	Apprenticed as a garage mechanic in Kaolack. Taxi business Banjul/ Ziguinchor for last 20 years.	Driver on Kaolack/ Barra (Banjul) route.	Taxi driver on Basse/Velingara route.	Taxi driver on Kaolack/Barra or Banjul/Dakar route.	Driver on Barra/ Kaolack route for last 7 years.
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Aku	Fula	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2	Mandinka (with domestic staff).	Susu	-	Fula, Sere Sine	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof Aku Mandinka	Fula, Susu, Mandinka	Wolof, Aku	Wolof, Fula	Wolof
C4 L/Education(A3)	English	Arabic	English	Arabic	French, Arabic
C5 L/Religion	English	Arabic	English	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Aku, Wolof, Mandinka.	Wolof	Fula, Mandinka, Serahuli.	Wolof, Fula.	Wolof
C7.1 WLs of previous routes	-	Kaolack/Tamba-counda: Wolof & Bambara. Kaolack/ Ziguinchor: Wolof, Mandinka, Fula.	-	Kaolack/ Ziguinchor: Wolof, a little Jola Foñi & Mandinka.	Dakar/Ziguinchor: Wolof, a little Mandinka & Jola Foñi.
C7.2 WLs of present route	Wolof, Mandinka & a little Jola Foni on route. Crioulo or some Jola Foñi in Ziguinchor, Wolof to Senegalese border officials, Wolof to Jola Foñi apprentice.	Kaolack/Dakar: Wolof. Kaolack/ Banjul: Wolof.	Basse/Velingara: Fula, Mandinka, Wolof. Wolof at both border posts.	Kaolack/Barra (Banjul): Wolof.	Kaolack/Barra: Wolof.
C8 OL1	English	A little French	English	Some French	Some French from primary education.
C9 OL2	A little French from 5 years in Kaolack.	-	-	A little functional English from taxi driving.	Some English vocabulary.
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, Mandinka Crioulo, a little Jola Foñi & French.	Wolof	Fula Mandinka Wolof	Wolof a little English	Wolof
Other					
E1 Comments		Came to Senegal when father (from Sokone) died.	Worked as a clerk for CFAO in Basse before getting a taxi.		
	XII:1	XII:2	XII:3	XII:4	XII:5

Table XII: Taxi Drivers on Senegambian Routes: Rapid Code-switching in different Speech Communities.

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	M20+	M20+	M40+	M40+	M60+	M30+
A2 Birthplace	Ndoffane (S)	Serrekunda (G)	Banjul (G)	Kaolack (S)	Sokone (S)	Sindian (S)
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Primary & Quranic	Primary & Quranic	Primary & Secondary	Primary
A4 Occupation	Taxi driver	Taxi driver	Taxi business	Taxi business	Taxi driving business	Mechanic/ taxi driver
A6 Residence	Ndoffane	Serrekunda	Dakar	Kaolack	Kaolack	Kuntaur
Senegambian Contact						
B1 Kin & Affines	-	✓	✓ Kin	✓ 1 Gambian wife	✓	
B2 Occupation	Kaolack/ Farafenni taxi driver	Serrekunda/ Ziguinchor route	Taxis between Dakar & Banjul	Drives between Kaolack/Barra	Now hires drivers to do job for him.	Drives on Kuntaur/ Koungheul route
Language Repertoire						
C1 HL1	Fula	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Jola Foñi
C2 HL2	Wolof	Mandinka	Mandinka	-	-	Mandinka
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof Mandinka	Wolof Aku Mandinka	Wolof	Wolof	Jola Foñi Mandinka
C4 L/Education(A3)	Arabic	Arabic	French Arabic	Arabic	French	French
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	French	French
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof Mandinka	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Mandinka,Wolof
C7.1 WLs of previous routes	Kolda/Ziguinchor: Fula, a little Mandinka,Wolof. Kaolack/Barra: Wolof, Serer-Sine, Fula.	Dakar/Barra (Banjul): Wolof	-	Banjul/Basse: Wolof, Aku,Fula, Mandinka. Kaolack/ Ziguinchor: Mandinka, Wolof, a little Jola Foñi.	Kaolack/Barra (Banjul): Wolof, a little Fula & Mandinka sometimes useful.	
C7.2 WLs of present route	Kaolack/ Farafenni: Wolof, Serer, Sine, Fula.	Serrekunda/ Ziguinchor: Wolof, Mandinka, a little Fula.	Barra (Banjul)/ Dakar: Wolof, also uses Mandinka & Aku in Banjul.	Kaolack/Barra: Wolof.	Kaolack/ Sokone: Wolof.	Kuntaur/ Koungheul: Mandinka & Wolof.
C8 OL1	a little French	a little English	a little English	some French from education.	French from education.	a little French from education.
C9 OL2	-	French phrases connected with the job.	French from education.	a little	v. little English	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof	Wolof,Mandinka, a little French & Fula.	Wolof,Mandinka, Aku, a little English.	Wolof,Mandinka, Fula, Aku, a little English.	Wolof, a little Fula & Mandinka.	Mandinka Wolof
Other						
E1 Comments	In Casamance had to have a Mandinka apprentice who spoke Wolof, because own Mandinka too limited.		Father Senegalese but mother Gambian.	Learnt Wolof, Mandinka, Fula, Aku & a little English from 15 years based in Banjul.		Apprenticed as a mechanic in Banjul. Wife & child in Serrekunda. Wolof learnt while at school in Casamance.
	XII:6	XII:7	XII:8	XII:9	XII:10	XII:11

Table XIII: Language Acquisition among Taximen and Chauffeurs working in the Gambia.

Background								
A1 Age & Sex	M50+	M30+	M50+	M40+	M40+	M20+	M50+	M50+
A2 Birthplace	Bakau (G)	Marsassoum (S)	Brikama(G)	Koungheul(S)	Basse (G)	Serrekunda (G)	Koungheul(G)	Joal (S)
A3 Education	Some primary, Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Primary & Quranic	Primary & Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Embassy driver	Taxi driver in Banjul area	Driver for GPMB	Taxi driver Brikama/ Banjul area	Taxi driver Banjul/Basse	Driver for UNDP	Taxi owner & head of taxi station	Driver for GPMB (collecting groundnuts)
A5 Residence	Bakau	Banjul	Kaur	Brikama	Basse	Serrekunda	Basse	Kuntaur
Senegambian Contact								
B1 Kin & Affines	✓Brother on British Embassy staff in Dakar.	✓ Kin in Marsassoum	✓	✓ Kin in Koungheul	✓ Kin in Velingara	✓ Kin in Casamance	✓ Kin in Ker Safady	✓Kin in Joal
B2 Occupation	Occasionally has to drive diplomats to Dakar.	-	Used to drive throughout Casamance collecting groundnuts for a French firm in Basse.		-	Drives boss to Dakar c. once a month or to collect mail or visitors.	Taxi on the Basse/Border route.	-
Language Repertoire								
C1 HL1	Mandinka (Jahanka)	Mandinka	Fula (Fouta Djalon).	Wolof	Mandinka	Jola (Kombo)	Wolof	Serer Sine
C2 HL2	-	-	Mandinka	-	-	Mandinka Wolof	-	Wolof
C3 LWC (A2)	Mandinka Wolof	Mandinka	Mandinka	Wolof	Mandinka, Serahuli, Fula, Wolof	Mandinka, Wolof, Fula.	Wolof	Serer Sine Wolof
C4 L/Education	English Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic & English	Arabic & English	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Mandinka Wolof	Wolof Mandinka	Wolof mainly, also Mandinka & Fula	Wolof, Fula, Mandinka, Aku.	Mandinka, Serahuli, Fula, Wolof	Mandinka, Wolof, Fula	Mandinka Serahuli Fula	Wolof Mandinka
C7 WLs	English with diplomats). Otherwise Wolof, Mandinka or Aku with colleagues.	Wolof Mandinka	Wolof Mandinka or Fula	Wolof, Fula, Mandinka, Aku.	Wolof (especially in Banjul)Fula, Serahuli, Mandinka.	English (to boss), Wolof (to colleagues)	Wolof mainly, though occasionally might use Fula, Mandinka, Serahuli or a little English.	Wolof, Fula, a little Mandinka, English greetings.
C8 OL1	English	Has picked up a little.	a little English	-	some English	English	very limited French.	Very little French
C9 OL2	v. little French	-	-	very limited English	-	a little French	a little English.	& English.
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof mainly a little French. Mandinka(B1)	Mandinka(B1) Wolof, a little Fula.	Fula, Mandinka, a little Jola Foni.	Wolof(B1&B2) Fula Mandinka Aku	Mandinka(B1), Fula in Velingara.	Wolof with a little French.	Wolof, Fula, Mandinka, Serahuli, a little English.	Serer.Sine or Wolof (B1)
	XIII:1	XIII:2	XIII:3	XIII:4	XIII:5	XIII:6	XIII:7	XIII:8

Table XIV: Senegambian Mechanics: The Use of local Languages of Wider Communication (LWCs) as Working Languages (WLs).

Background									
A1 Age & Sex	M50+	M30+	M50+	M50+	M30+	M30+	M30+	M50+	M20+
A2 Birthplace	Kérévane (Casamance)	Gandiaye	Kaolack	Kaolack	Fatick	Gossas	Kaolack	Bandulo, near Sokone	Banjul
A3 Education	Primary Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Primary & Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Primary & Quranic
A4 Occupation	Mechanic	Mechanic	Mechanic	Mechanic	Mechanic	Mechanic	Mechanic	Mechanic (former taxi driver)	Mechanic
A5 Residence	Basse	Basse	Basse	Basse	Basse	Kaur	Kaur	Kaolack	Ziguinchor
Senegambian Contact									
B1 Kin & Affines	Family in Velingara	✓ Kin in Gandiaye	✓ Kin in Kaolack	Family in Kaolack	✓ Kin	Family in Gossas	Kin in Kaolack	Kin in Banjul ✓	✓ Kin
B2 Occupation	Apprenticed in Dakar	-	-	-	-	-	-	Goes once a month to keep clients' vehicles in order.	Apprenticed in Banjul.
B3 Religion	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ Murid	✓ Niassène	✓	✓
Language Repertoire									
C1 HL1	Fula (Fuladu)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Serer Sine	Wolof	Wolof	Fula	Mandinka
C2 HL2	Serahuli	Serer-Sine	-	-	Wolof	-	-	Wolof	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Fula Serahuli	Wolof Serer-Sine	Wolof	Wolof	Serer-Sine Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Mandinka, Wolof, Aku.
C4 L/Education(A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC(A5)	Mandinka Fula Serahuli	Wolof Mandinka Fula	Mandinka Fula Wolof	Wolof Mandinka Serahuli	Fula Mandinka	Wolof Mandinka	Wolof Mandinka Fula	Wolof	Wolof Mandinka Jola Foñi
C7 WLs	Fula, Wolof, Serahuli, Mandinka.	Wolof	Wolof, a little Mandinka & Fula.	Wolof, Aku, Mandinka, Serahuli. Fula (Fuladu), Fula(Fouta Djalon).	Wolof, a little Fula.	Wolof	Wolof. Uses a little Mandinka & Fula.	Wolof, Fula	Wolof, Mandinka, a little Fula.
C8 OL1	A little French	limited French	A little French	A little	A little French	A little French from school	A little French	A little French	Some English from education
C9 OL2	very little	-	a little English	a little, especially lexes	a little English	-	-	v.little English	-
C10 S/G LWC	Fula, Wolof, Mandinka, Serahuli.	Wolof	Wolof, a little Mandinka, Fula & English.	Wolof, Aku Mandinka, Fula, a little English.	Wolof, a little Fula & a few English phrases.	Wolof	Wolof, a little Mandinka & Fula.	Wolof Fula	Wolof Mandinka
Other									
E1 Comments	Wolof learnt in Dakar, Mandinka last 6 years in Basse.	Only last 4 months in Basse. Does not yet speak any Fula or Mandinka.		Established in Basse since 1965.		No Mandinka, not even greetings			
E2 Reason for migration	Left Dakar after 10 years to find work nearer home.	Had been apprenticed to a Casamançais in Farafenni (G) but came to try luck in Basse.		Came looking for work 10 years ago.	Came for economic reasons 5 years ago.	Only arrived 2 months ago.	Came 2 yrs ago after working in Sokone & Farafenni.	Commutes between Sokone & Banjul.	Came to see possibilities 3 months ago.
	XIV:1	XIV:2	XIV:3	XIV:4	XIV:5	XIV:6	XIV:7	XIV:8	XIV:9

Table XIV: Senegambian Mechanics: The Use of Local Languages of Wider Communication (LWCs) as Working Languages (WLs).

CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE USAGE AND TEMPORARY MIGRATION

CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE USAGE AND TEMPORARY MIGRATION

5.1. Migrant Workers

Introduction

Senegalese or Gambian workers who crossed the border to do business, or in search of work, often followed certain types of employment according to their ethnic backgrounds. They may have been following traditional occupations, like the Serer Niominka fishermen (Table XVIII), or the Lawbe carvers (Table XII), but enjoying larger markets for their produce through the increase in population or the development of tourism. They may have been bana-bana (petty traders), such as the Wolof who were dealing in tinned food, spices and vegetables, or the Lawbe women who were selling cosmetics, trinkets and aphrodisiacs (Table XV) in Gambian market places. They may have had no previous commercial experience or traditional occupation to help them to obtain employment. Thus, unskilled migrants, like the Jola Foñi and Jola Buluf from Casamance (Table XIX), or the Mandinka from Baddibu or the Kombo (Table XXI), were finding that domestic service provided some of the few openings available.

Patterns of migration reflect both the influence of the traditional village of origin, and new pressures arising from permanent employment in a modern urban centre. The Jola Foni or Buluf workers used to return to the Casamance during the wet season in order to help with the rice crop, but this seasonal migratory pattern was proving

impossible to maintain except where they had found employment with expatriate families whose leave coincided with the rice planting period.

The Lawbe carvers were attracted towards Brikama (G) because of its proximity to the forest area and to the Gambian tourist market, but their period of migration tended to last only for the tourist season, with a return to their families in Senegal from May to October. The Serer Niominka were continuing to combine their traditional occupations of fishing along the coasts or rivers of Senegambia during the dry season, and of farming rice and millet on their island of origin during the wet season. It was easier for them to maintain this seasonal pattern of migration than it was for the Jola Foñi and Buluf, since they fished as teams of friends and relations from the same island in Senegal. Each team sold directly to the market nearest to their temporary fishing ground, and reached a collective decision about when to return home.

The petty traders who came to the Gambia for commercial reasons took advantage of their Senegalese connections by returning at regular intervals to get new supplies of merchandise. The markets of the Gambia were thus considered similarly to commercial centres in Senegal in that an itinerant trader would maintain his business until increased competition, or a drop in demand, forced him to try his luck elsewhere. Some of the assorted artisans for whom a demand arises in a busy town centre (such as the goldsmith, the tailor and the watch repairer in Table XV, and the builder, the mason and the painter in Table XVI), had begun to follow more permanent patterns

of migration once they had established a local clientele. They also had the advantage of not having to interrupt their business every month in order to return to Senegalese market places to restock. Some of these artisans were therefore more likely to become more permanent residents than those who had retained commercial or farming ties with their country of origin.

Such fishermen, artisans and traders were attracted to the Gambia because of a shortage of local people with these skills. Consequently, there was much greater evidence of migration of these groups to the Gambia, than vice versa. On the other hand, there seemed to be greater pressure on the Gambian unskilled workers in the Medina to opt for Senegalese citizenship, because of the more competitive employment market in Dakar.

The objective of this section was to see whether the migrant workers had had to adopt new languages of wider communication in the speech community in which they found employment, or how far they had been able to rely on previously acquired language skills. The following patterns of migration will be illustrated:

1. SENEGAL ⟶ THE GAMBIA : Assorted market trades and occupations ..... (92)
2. SENEGAL ⟶ THE GAMBIA : Lawɓe carvers ..... (11)
3. SENEGAL ⟶ THE GAMBIA : Senegalese workers associated with the building trade.. (10)
4. SENEGAL ⟶ THE GAMBIA : Serer Niominka fishermen. (40)
5. SENEGAL ⟶ THE GAMBIA : Jola Foñi and Jola Buluf workers in Banjul..... (16)
6. THE GAMBIA ⟶ SENEGAL : Mandinka workers in Dakar. (24)

5.1.1. Assorted Market trades and Occupations.

Each Gambian market place in this study has developed as a "multi-functional institution", in which market exchange is the dominant principle (Bohannan & Dalton, 1962:15), to encompass a variety of other trades and professions. The market areas visited in Banjul, Brikama, Georgetown, Basse, Bansang, Kuntaur and Kaur constituted a variety of stalls and bitigs [1] in which petty traders dealt in vegetables, fancy goods, cosmetics, trinkets or pots and pans. Such market transactions were conducted alongside bitigs and workshops whose occupants included tailors, mattress-makers, butchers, shoemakers, watch repairers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths and silversmiths. Apart from Gambian residents, some of these were Malian, Mauretanian or Guinean migrant workers, but the majority were Senegalese in origin. Those interviewed had been born, and, in most cases, brought up in Senegal, prior to coming to the Gambia to find work or to conduct business on their own account.

Senegambian contact

Ames (1962:47 et seq.) has pointed out how the mobility of such migrant workers and traders is affected by the heightened activity that characterises Gambian market places during the trade season following the groundnut harvest. For example, he observed how the large trade

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1. Bitig b- (W. - from 'boutique, F.): a small covered market stall or shop.

stores in the wharf towns allowed tailors to work on their premises for this period. Skilled workers like tailors, shoemakers and watch repairers find clients in the market areas during the trade season because of the commercial stimulus to the money market, but the slack period from May to October often results in their return to their home town or village in Senegal until the end of the wet season. On the other hand, most of the traders retailing basic commodities (rather than 'fancy' goods), were based in the Gambia for most of the year, but retained close ties with their country of origin.

The maintenance of contact with Senegal for commercial or professional reasons depended on whether one of the main Senegalese trading towns, or Banjul, served as the source for the supply of merchandise or raw materials. Most of the vegetable traders (16/19) went regularly to restock in the neighbouring Senegalese trading centres of Kaolack or Koungheul. They occasionally went to Dakar, benefitting in each case from direct local transport facilities to the main departure points for Northern Senegal: Farafenni, Kuntair and Barra.[1] Kaolack emerged as the most important 'relay' (commercial centre)[2] supplying

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1. See Map B: To show Senegambian communal taxi routes.

2. A 'relay' is a trading town in which goods are divided up, converted, etc., between merchants before reaching the consumer. (See Meillassoux (1971:30, 42) re Boutillier's distinction (ibid: 240) in West African trading organisation between a 'système de relais' and a 'système de reseaux'. In the network system, goods are directly, or indirectly under the control of a single merchant; whereas the relay system involves a series of transactions between several merchants).

the petty traders in this study, because of its equi-distant position between Dakar and Banjul, and at the intersection between the major road networks from the two River Gambia ferry crossings.[1] Some of the smiths bought metal in Kaolack, while the Lawbe and Wolof women (XV: 71-92) also got their supplies of cosmetics, trinkets and potions through the 'relay' trading system in Kaolack or Dakar.

Apart from business links, most informants retained contact with kin and a particular marabout in Senegal. Although many of them had brought their families to the Gambia once they had established themselves in their particular occupation, those retaining more regular commercial contact had usually left their wives behind. Some of the Lawbe women, who commuted at least once a month between their source of supply in Senegal and their current market in the Gambia, were accompanied by their children,but others had entrusted them to their kin in their place of origin.

Islam provided another tie with the country of origin where most informants had received their Quranic, but little formal, education. Practising Muslims referred to festivities, such as Tabaski (Id el Adha), and the mass pilgrimages organised by leaders of the Murid, Tijān and Niassène sects to their respective centres at Touba, Tivaouane and Kaolack. Most of the Murid in this study had participated in the 'Grand Magal' to Touba[2], having

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1. See Map B, p.289.

2. See section (4.2.2.), p.194.

communal transport organised from each of these Gambian commercial centres by local representatives of the Khalif.

This study comprises Senegalese traders and artisans working for most of the year in Gambian market areas, but, whether or not they remained in the Gambia during the wet season, the majority of those interviewed considered their migration across the border to be a temporary economic expedient. Only a few exceptional cases affirmed that they would stay permanently in the Gambia, but even these migrants had retained close contact with kin in their place of origin. Specific goods, such as vegetables, cosmetics, trinkets and potions, were mainly supplied to the Gambian market via relay systems passing through Senegal. In this respect, the Lawbe and Wolof women (XV: 71-92) could be considered as a separate entity; since, on their more frequent journeys back to Senegal to restock, they often conducted a two-way commerce by taking cheap Gambian goods, such as cuub (dyed cloth), across the border. The linguistic background of the Lawbe[1] could have lead to different habits in Gambian market places from those of traders, speaking Wolof as a first language; while their shorter periods of petty trading in one place could have made them less liable to learn local lingue franche.

The mobility of the Lawbe women was dictated by the demand in their Gambian trading base for the types of merchandise in which they specialised. Those interviewed

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1. i.e. because they speak a register of Fula as their first language.

(XV: 71-86) sold trinkets, such as lam (bracelets) and jaroo (earrings), as well as more traditional cosmetics like fuddën (henna) and tisingal (black eye shadow). They also specialised in hairdressing items, such as jugoré (hair lotion), noolel (hair darkener) and hair pieces. For this last category, they adapted their terminology to the Gambian Wolof context by calling yoos (S)(coarse false hair): bakak (G) and len (S)(soft hair pieces): ool (G). The Lawbe were also reputed for selling various kinds of curaay, which is lit like incense as an aphrodisiac. Neither these women, nor the Wolof women associated with the same trade (XV:87-92), had fabricated the trinkets or potions themselves. In each interview it was re-iterated that these products came from different parts of West and Central Africa, but they personally had got their supplies from other traders in Kaolack or Dakar.

(6) Wolof women have been included with the Lawbe, because they specialised in the same items in Gambian market places. Nevertheless, the Lawbe appeared to have been associated with this type of commerce longer, perhaps exploiting their repute in sexual matters that is implicit in descriptions of their 'Bohemian', or 'gypsy-like' existence.[2] Wolof women, from a similar low caste (nenyo)

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1. In A.A. Diaw's list of 'Faune et flore dans le français du Sénégal' (Réalités Africaines et Langue Française, no.2, 1975) 'yoos ou encore babak' (sic) are cited as the local names for the African hemp used for making wigs. They are translated as 'herbe à perruque'(F.) and 'Sansevieria senegambica' (scientific term).

2. e.g. Mollien (1820:155,158); Hecquard (1852:129); MacBriar (1861:33). This reputation has been confirmed by Wane (1969:57).

have also been identified with the culinary utensil trade (Ames, 1962:48), traditionally associated with the Lawɓe, and so may have subsequently followed their example in selling more exotic wares.

The Lawɓe men have been included in a separate table (XVI), because the particular motives for their seasonal migration to the Gambia were not linked to specific employment in the market area. The Lawɓe are traditionally associated with wood carving,[1] but this occupation has taken on a new dimension with the advent of tourism. Not all the carvers sold directly to the hotels, but they had been attracted to work in Brikama during the tourist season because of the proximity of a ready market of visitors, as well as the availability of cheap wood from the nearby forest. Most of those interviewed stayed in the Gambia from October to March, taking whatever remained unsold to sell in the souvenir craft markets of Senegal. The combination of motives for this

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1. Wane (1969:55) derives the term Lawɓe (sing. Labbo) etymologically from 'Lewɓe': meaning those whose work consisted of cutting down trees and bushes in order to gain land for cultivation. He classifies the Lawɓe as the caste of woodcutters in Tukulor social hierarchy, which he subdivides into the Lawɓe Laaɗe (who made canoes for the fishermen caste, the Subalɓe), and the Lawɓe Worworɓe or Maalaw (who made wooden culinary utensils, such as spoons, bowls, mortars and pestles). This wide application of the term 'Tukulor' to include the Nyeenyɓe category (to which the Lawɓe caste belong) is controversial. The narrowest interpretation of the term restricts the term 'Tukulor' to the Rimɓe category (which includes the Tooroɓɓe), with the Lawɓe described as "a low caste of Fouta Toro Fulbe" (Ames,1962:48. Gamble, 1967:44) in the highly stratified society of the Senegal River region. A third meaning arises in other parts of Senegambia to denote someone from the Fouta Toro, thereby associating the term with geographical origin, rather than social hierarchy. The controversy has been confused by the uncertainty surrounding the common ethnic origins of the Fulɓe and the Tukulor (see section 3.1.3.).

seasonal migration, connected with both the production and sale of wares, served to dissociate these craftsmen from the general sample. Their contact with tourists could have made the acquisition of the official language more relevant; but, like the female Lawbe, they had the potential advantage in contact with local traders of speaking Fula, a major Senegambian language, as their first language.

Language usage in Senegambian contact

All the informants came from Northern Senegal, with the majority speaking Wolof as their first language (66/92). The remainder of the sample spoke fluent Wolof before coming to the Gambia, apart from one Tukulor informant (XV:36) who had migrated directly from Fouta Toro. The use of Wolof as a first or second language, prior to migration, was significant in that, although some informants had picked up local lingue franche in their Gambian trading base, most of them (40/52) considered such skills to be limited. They thus relied mainly on Wolof for commercial transactions. A comparison between the numbers in the sample who only used Wolof in commerce (44), and the few who could converse fluently in Mandinka or Fula (12), implied that Wolof had a greater commercial validity in Gambian market places than any other language.

The study of the Lawbe substantiated the significance of Wolof in that all (27) Lawbe petty traders and wood carvers emphasized its role as their major trading language in the Gambia. In every case, this was a continuation

of their habitual use of Wolof in commercial situations in Senegal. A few Lawbe (10) had learnt some Mandinka, but Fula was less important in the conduct of their commerce, despite the fact that they spoke a register of Fula comprehensible to other Fulaphones[1] in the Gambia. It was therefore not surprising that the Wolof women had not learnt any Fula in the process of conducting the same trade. The Lawbe wood carvers were based for the tourist season mainly in Brikama (in which Mandinka-speaking people predominate), but they also recognised Wolof as their main language of wider communication in both social and commercial domains.

The Lawbe sample thus served to confirm linguistic trends evident among migrant workers in Gambian markets, since in all (27) cases it was the maintenance of commercial linguistic habits established in Senegal that predominated. Only a few informants switched languages in order to please a client (XV:2,22,27,35,39,44,46), but these traders generally had greater business interests than the average petty trader or artisan in this study.

Most of the informants understood Senegalese or Gambian currencies, but not everyone could count in both English and French. The few traders, who spoke a little English (6), cited its usage in greeting local officials and civil servants, with whom they wanted to maintain good relations. The tailors relied on English and French vocabulary for the conduct of their business, since the terms for different materials and modern styles of dress

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1. i.e. Fula Fouta Djalon, Fula Fuladu.

were used in 'Dakar' or 'Banjul' registers of Wolof with little modification.[1] Some of the Lawbe women, trading near the market entrance, used phrases like "Come try!", "You like?" and "How much you pay?", in order to attract the attention of passing tourists. Similarly, their husbands, hawking carvings around the hotels, had found some English phrases useful (XVI: 1,2,3, 11), but this knowledge of another official language was very limited, perhaps because those who sold directly to tourists appeared to be in the minority.

Only (5) shopkeepers and businessmen could read and write in the official language, having experienced some primary (and in (2) cases, secondary) education, but the male informants had varying knowledge of Arabic and Wolofal[2] through their Quranic studies. Few of the market bitigshad shop signs, but the occasional notice betrayed the occupant's Senegambian connections. For example, both official languages might be inadvertently mixed up, with a tailor's signboard in Basse advertising: "K. Danso tailleur hommes femmes mens womens", and a small restaurant in the same town announcing: "GOOD ICI FOOD RESTAURANT Bon coin de l'Islam".

The movements of traders and artisans working on their own account between the two countries may be influenced by commercial, family or religious expedience, but they are facilitated by the wide currency of Wolof in the Gambia as well as in Senegal. Dependence on Wolof as a language of wider communication, even in towns like Basse,

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1. e.g. manche/sleeve, doublure/lining, poche/pocket, fermeture éclair/zip, veste/jacket.
2. See pp.203, 204.

Table XV: Assorted Market Trades and Occupations: Maintenance of Language Loyalties among Senegalese Migrant Workers.

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	M30+	M40+	M20+	M20+	M30+	M20+
A2 Birthplace	Kaolack	Joal	Kaolack	Dakar	Dakar	Dakar
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic & primary	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Market trader (Onions, tomato paste, spices, dates).	Watch repairer	Tailor	Tailor	Tailor	Tailor
A5 Residence	Basse	Basse	Basse	Basse	Basse	Basse
Senegambian Contact						
B1 Kin & Affines	√Wife & children Kaolack	√ Dakar	√	Wife in Dakar	√	√
B2 Occupation	Goes once a month to restock in Kaolack	Returns in wet season				
B3 Religion	Niassène					
B4 Education	Children at French-medium schools in Kaolack	-	-	Child at school Dakar	-	-
Language Repertoire						
C1 HL1	Wolof	Serer-Sine (mother)	Wolof	Fula (Fouta Djalon)	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2	-	Wolof (father)	-	Wolof	-	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof (Dakar)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education(A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic French	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Mandinka, Fula	Mandinka, Fula	Mandinka, Fula	Mandinka, Serahuli, Fula	Mandinka, Serahuli, Fula
C7 WLs	Wolof	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof	Wolof, a little Fula	Wolof, Fula	Wolof, a little Fula	Wolof, a v. little Fula
C8 OL1	v. little French	a little French	v. limited French.	French from 1 year primary	a little French	a little French
C9 OL2	-	a little English	-	-	Counts in English.	Counts & some business vocabulary.
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof	Mandinka, Fula, a little Serahuli, Wolof & Aku.	Wolof, a little Fula.	Wolof, Fula.	Wolof, a little Fula.	Wolof, a little Fula.
Other						
E1 Reason given for migration	Economic (2 years ago).	Business (10 years ago).	To earn money (5 years ago).	Economic (1 year ago).	Business (4 years ago).	Unemployment (6 months ago).
	XV:1	XV:2	XV:3	XV:4	XV:5	XV:6

Table XV: Assorted Market Trades and Occupations: Maintenance of Language Loyalties among Senegalese Migrant Workers.

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	M40+	M30+	M40+	M40+	M40+	M30+
A2 Birthplace	Ngaye Mékhé	Ndarène (near Kaolack)	Linguère	Diourbel	Kaolack	Kaolack
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Market trader (Onions, cabbage macaroni, spices).	Market trader (Aspirins, matches, biscuits).	Trader (Onions, potatoes, tomato paste, spices).	Trader (Zips, spices, pencils, vegetables, macaroni, tomato paste).	Trader (sells sunglasses & frames photos).	Market trader (tinned milk, spices, onions, enamelware, potatoes).
A5 Residence	Basse	Basse	Basse	Basse	Basse	Basse
Senegambian Contact						
B1 Kin & Affines	✓	✓ Ndarène	✓ wife & children	✓	✓	✓
B2 Occupation	Friend goes to restock.		Brother buys for him in Kaolack.	Restocks in Kaolack.	Gets material for frames	Restocks in Kaolack
B3 Religion	Murid	Niassene	Murid	Murid		
B4 Education	-	Children at school in Senegal.	Children at school in Senegal.	-	Children at school in Kaolack	-
Language Repertoire						
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2	-	-	-	-	Serer-Sine	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof, Serer-Sine.	Wolof
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof.	Fula, Wolof, Mandinka.	Mandinka, Fula, Jahanka.	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof.	Mandinka, Fula.	Mandinka, Fula.
C7 WLs	Wolof	Wolof, some Fula & Mandinka.	Wolof	Wolof, a little Fula, Serahuli, Mandinka & Jahanka.	Wolof, a little Mandinka & Fula.	Wolof
C8 OL1	Counts in French	-	-	a little French	v. limited French	-
C9 OL2	& English	-	-	Counts in English	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof	Wolof, some Fula & Mandinka	Wolof	Wolof, a little Fula, Serahuli Mandinka, Jahanka	Wolof, a little Mandinka & Fula	Wolof
Other						
E1 Reason given for migration	Health (came for modern & traditional treatment).	Unemployment (4 years ago)	Economic (5 years ago).	Business (12 years ago)	Economic & brother already there.	Commerce (1 year ago).
	XV:7	XV:8	XV:9	XV:10	XV:11	XV:12

Table XV: Assorted Market Trades and Occupations: Maintenance of Language Loyalties among Senegalese Migrant Workers

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	M50+	M50+	M40+	M30+	M40+	M20+
A2 Birthplace	Kaolack	Bambey	Dionewar	Kaolack	Koungheul	Kaolack
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic & secondary to 4e
A4 Occupation	Market trader (slippers - babouches, plastic sandals, jewellery).	Market trader (Onions, potatoes, bay leaves, chilli powder).	Market trader (Dried fish, onions, potatoes, tomato paste, vinegar, beans, spices).	Market trader (Bay leaves, macaroni, vinegar, onions, spices).	Trader in crockery, shoes, handbags, jewellery.	Tailor
A5 Residence	Basse	Georgetown	Georgetown	Georgetown	Georgetown	Georgetown
Senegambian Contact						
B1 Kin & Affines	Wife & children Kaolack	✓	Wife & children in Dakar	Wife in Kaolack	✓ Dakar & Koungheul	✓ Kaolack
B2 Occupation	Kin in Kaolack make babouches	Restocks in Dakar or Kaolack	Restocks in Kaolack	Restocks there	Gets goods in Dakar	-
B3 Religion	Niassène	Murid	-	Niassène	✓	-
B4 Education		-	Children at school Dakar	Children in Kaolack	-	-
Language Repertoire						
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Serer Niominka	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2	Fula		Wolof & Mandinka	-	Fula	
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof Fula	Wolof	Serer Niominka	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education(A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	French & Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Mandinka	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof.	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof.	Wolof	Mandinka	Mandinka, Fula, Aku.
C7 WLs	Wolof, Fula, a little Mandinka.	Wolof, Fula, Mandinka.	Mandinka, Wolof, a little Fula.	Wolof	Wolof, Fula, Aku, a little Mandinka.	Wolof & a little Fula, Mandinka, & Aku.
C8 OL1	a little French vocabulary	a little French	v. limited	-	a little French	French
C9 OL2	-	a little English	a little English market vocabulary	-	a little English	English vocabulary for tailoring
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, Fula, a little Mandinka.	Wolof, Fula, Mandinka.	Wolof, Fula, Mandinka.	Wolof	Wolof, Fula, Aku, a little Mandinka.	Wolof, a little Fula, Mandinka, & Aku.
Other						
E1 Reason given for migration	Business (4 or 5 years ago).	Commerce (32 years ago).	Commerce (8 years ago).	Economic (10 years ago).	Commerce (10 years ago) Picked up Fula (Fuladu & Fouta Djalon) from nawetans in Koungheul. Learnt some English & Aku in Freetown.	Business (5 years ago).
	XV:13	XV:14	XV:15	XV:16	XV:17	XV:18

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	M20+	M40+	F60+	M40+	M60+	M40+
A2 Birthplace	Thiès	Kaolack	Ndoulo nr.Touba	Nioro du Rip	Louga	Salou nr.Diourbel
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Tailor	Baker	Market trader (vegetables & spices)	Shopkeeper (General provisions)	Blacksmith	Restaurant owner
A5 Residence	Georgetown	Georgetown	Georgetown	Georgetown	Georgetown	Bansang
Senegambian Contact						
B1 Kin & Affines	Kin ✓	Wife & children in Kaolack	✓	✓ Nioro	Wife & kin in Mbakhé	✓ Kin
B2 Occupation	-	-	-	-	Sometimes gets metal	-
B3 Religion	-	Murid	-	Niassène	Tijān	Murid
B4 Education	-	Children at school Kaolack	-	-	Children at French-medium & Quranic schools Senegal	-
Language Repertoire						
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2					Fula	
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education(A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof.	Wolof	Mandinka, Wolof, Fula.	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof.	Mandinka, Fula (Fuladu), Wolof.	Wolof, Fula.
C7 WLs	Wolof, a little Fula & Mandinka.	Wolof	Wolof & a little Fula.	Wolof, Mandinka, a little Fula & English.	Wolof, Fula, Mandinka.	Wolof, a little Fula.
C8 OL1	v. limited	-	-	a little French	-	-
C9 OL2	a little sewing vocabulary	-	-	a few phrases	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, a little Fula & Mandinka.	Wolof	Wolof & a little Fula.	Wolof Mandinka, a little Fula & English.	Wolof, Mandinka, Fula.	Wolof a little Fula
Other						
E1 Reason given for migration	Looking for work (3 years ago).	Just arrived for economic reasons.	Husband's search for work 'a long time ago'.	Unemployment (16 years ago).	Business (33 years ago).	Business (11 years ago).
	XV:19	XV:20	XV:21	XV:22	XV:23	XV:24

Table XV: Assorted Market Trades and Occupations: Maintenance of Language Loyalties among Senegalese Migrant Workers

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	F5O+	M3O+	M4O+	F4O+	M4O+	M6O+
A2 Birthplace	Mbour	Ker Madiabel	Thimaha	Kaolack	Thimaha	Rufisque
A3 Education	a little Quranic	Quranic, primary	Quranic	?	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Market trader (onions, bay leaves, tomato paste, jewellery)	Market trader (kolanuts)	Shopkeeper (general provisions)	Market trader (enamelware, onions, pepper)	Market trader (fancy goods & provisions)	Goldsmith
A5 Residence	Bansang	Bansang	Bansang	Bansang	Bansang	Bansang
Senegambian Contact						
B1 Kin & Affines	Kin & affines Mbour	✓ Ker Madiabel	✓ Kin	✓	✓ Dakar	✓ Rufisque
B2 Occupation	Goes to restock	Buys wholesale Kaolack	-	Restocks in Kaolack	Some stock from Dakar	-
B3 Religion	-	Niassene	-	-	-	-
B4 Education	-	-	-	-	-	-
Language Repertoire						
C1 HL1	Serer	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2	Wolof					
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof, Fula.	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education(A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	?	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	?	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC(A5)	Wolof, Fula, Mandinka.	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof.	Wolof, Fula, Mandinka.	Wolof	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof.	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof.
C7 WLs	Wolof	Wolof, Fula.	Wolof, a little Mandinka, Fula & English.	Wolof	Wolof, a little Fula, Mandinka.	Wolof, a little Fula & fluent Mandinka.
C8 OL1	-	a little French from primary	-	-	-	-
C9 OL2	-	-	a little English	-	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof	Wolof, Fula.	Wolof, Mandinka, Fula, English.	Wolof	Wolof, a little Fula, Mandinka.	Wolof, a little Fula & Mandinka.
Other						
E1 Reason given for migration	Husband's business	Commerce (2 years ago). Learnt Fula from nawetans in Ker Madiabel.	Unemployment (28 years ago).	Came with husband (10 years ago).	Commerce (3 years ago).	Business (30 years ago).
	XV:25	XV:26	XV:27	XV:28	XV:29	XV:30

Table XV: Assorted Market Trades and Occupations: Maintenance of Language Loyalties among Senegalese Migrant Workers

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	M30+	M30+	M30+	M50+	M40+	M40+
A2 Birthplace	Thiès	Mbakhé	Thimaha	Kebemer	OuaKKam	Wasa Kodé (Matam)
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	primary & quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Tailor	Tailor	Tailor	Goldsmith	Businessman & shopkeeper	Blacksmith
A5 Residence	Bansang	Bansang	Bansang	Bansang	Kuntaur	Kuntaur
Senegambian Contact						
B1 Kin & Affines	✓	✓ Mbakhé	✓	✓ Kin & affines Kaolack	✓	Wife & child in the Fouta.
B2 Occupation	Returns every wet season	-	-	-	-	Returns wet season, gets silver Kaolack.
B3 Religion	Murid	Murid	Tijān	Murid	✓	✓ Medina-Gonasse
B4 Education	-	-		Children formal & Quranic studies Kaolack	Educated Senegal & Gambia. Children in both systems.	-
Language Repertoire						
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Fula
C2 HL2		Serer				
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Fula
C4 L/Education(A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	French, English, Arabic.	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Fula, Mandinka, Wolof.	Fula, Mandinka, Wolof.	Mandinka, Fula, Aku, Wolof.	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof.	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof.	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof.
C7 WLs	Wolof, a little English & French.	Wolof, a little Fula & Mandinka.	Wolof, Fula (Fuladu), Aku, Mandinka.	Wolof, a little Mandinka & Fula.	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof, English.	Wolof, Fula, a little Mandinka.
C8 OL1	French & English vocabulary for work	v. little French	Professional vocabulary in English & French	a little French	French (primary)	v. limited
C9 OL2		-		-	English(primary)	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof	Wolof, Fula, Mandinka.	Wolof, Mandinka, Fula, some Aku.	Wolof, little Mandinka & Fula.	Wolof, Fula, Mandinka, English.	Wolof, Fula, a little Mandinka.
Other						
E1 Reason given for migration	Business (7 years ago)	Unemployment (7 years ago) Learnt Serer from neighbours in Mbakhé.	Came 2 years ago because brother here. Aku used with civil servants.	Business (28 years ago)	Parents traded in the Gambia.	Business (11 years ago)
	XV:31	XV:32	XV:33	XV:34	XV:35	XV:36

Table XV: Assorted Market Trades and Occupations: Maintenance of Language Loyalties among Senegalese Migrant Workers

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	M40+	M50+	M60+	M20+	M30+	M40+
A2 Birthplace	Kaolack	Nioro	Louga	Thiès	Bakel	Ouakkam
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic, Primary, Secondary,
A4 Occupation	Silversmith	Shopkeeper (oil, soap, sugar, cigarettes, aspirins)	Shopkeeper (general provisions)	Blacksmith	Butcher	Trader (cloth onions, sugar, oil)
A5 Residence	Kuntaur	Kuntaur	Kuntaur	Kuntaur	Kuntaur	Kuntaur
Senegambian Contact						
B1 Kin & Affines	✓ Kaolack	✓ Nioro & Kaolack	✓	✓	✓	✓ Ouakkam
B2 Occupation	Gets silver Kaolack.	Uses other traders.	Uses other traders.	-	-	Restocks & trades Kaolack
B3 Religion	Niassène	Tijān	Murid	-	✓	Tijān
B4 Education	Children French-medium	Children in Senegal	Children French-medium	-	-	Secondary education Banjul
Language Repertoire						
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Fula	Wolof
C2 HL2					Hossaniya	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Soninke	Wolof
C4 L/Education(A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic, French, English.
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Mandinka, Wolof.	Mandinka, Wolof.	Mandinka, Wolof.	Wolof	Mandinka	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof.
C7 WLs	Wolof, a little Mandinka.	Wolof, a little Mandinka & Fula.	Wolof, a little Mandinka & Fula.	Wolof	Wolof, Fula, a little Mandinka.	Wolof, Mandinka, understands but can't speak Fula.
C8 OL1	-	-	-	-	-	French (primary)
C9 OL2	-	-	-	-	-	English (primary & secondary),
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, a little Mandinka.	Wolof, a little Mandinka & Fula.	Wolof, a little Mandinka & Fula.	Wolof	Wolof, Fula, a little Mandinka.	Wolof, Mandinka, English.
Other						
E1 Reason given for migration	Business (12 years ago).	Came to find work (10 years ago).	Came looking for work (36 years ago).	Came to find work (6 months ago).	Economic (1 year ago).	Came to join brother (30 years ago).
	XV:37	XV:38	XV:39	XV:40	XV:41	XV:42

Table XV: Assorted Market Trades and Occupations: Maintenance of Language Loyalties among Senegalese Migrant Workers

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	M30+	M50+	M30+	M40+	F50+	M40+
A2 Birthplace	Kaolack	Ouakkam	Fatick	Mbour	Dakar	Diourbel
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	?	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Blacksmith	Trader dealing in secondhand clothes.	Market trader (onions, oil, dried fish, chilli powder).	Market Trader (onions, dried fish, chilli powder).	Market trader (onions, cabbage, chilli powder, oil).	Market trader (onions, oil, vinegar, salt & pepper, chilli powder).
A5 Residence	Kuntaur	Kuntaur	Kuntaur	Kuntaur	Kuntaur	Kuntaur
Senegambian Contact						
B1 Kin & Affines	Wife & son in Kaolack	Kin in Ouakkam	✓	✓	✓ Dakar	✓ Kin in Diourbel
B2 Occupation	Returns wet season Kaolack, buys metal there	-	gets stock Kaolack (& Banjul)	Restocks Kaolack	Restocks Koungheul	Restocks in Koungheul
B3 Religion	Murid	Tijān	✓	✓	?	Murid
B4 Education		All children study Dakar	Children in Senegal	Son at school Kaolack	Children educated Dakar	Children in Quranic school
Language Repertoire						
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Serer-Sine	Serer Sine	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2			Wolof			
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof & Fula	Wolof	Serer-Sine Wolof	Serer-Sine, Wolof, Fula, Mandinka.	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education(A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	?	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	?	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Mandinka, Wolof, Fula.	Mandinka, Wolof, Fula.	Mandinka, Wolof, Fula.	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof.	Wolof	Wolof, Mandinka.
C7 WLs	Wolof	Mandinka, Wolof, Fula.	Wolof, a little Mandinka & Fula.	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof.	Wolof	Wolof, a little Mandinka.
C8 OL1	-	a little French	v. limited French	a little French	-	-
C9 OL2	-	a little English	a few phrases	v. little English	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof.	Wolof, a little Mandinka & Fula.	Wolof, Mandinka, Fula.	Wolof	Wolof, a little Mandinka.
Other						
E1 Reason given for migration	Looking for work (3 years ago).	Commerce (20 years ago).	First came 10 years ago to trade.	Commerce (8 years ago).	Came 30 years ago with husband (a silversmith).	Economic (1 year ago).
	XV:43	XV:44	XV:45	XV:46	XV:47	XV:48

Table XV: Assorted Market Trades and Occupations: Maintenance of Language Loyalties among Senegalese Migrant Workers

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	M20+	M30+	M40+	M40+	M20+	M30+
A2 Birthplace	Niakhar near Fatick.	Dakar	Birkelane	Touba Mbaké	Kaolack	Kaolack
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Market trader (Macaroni, bay leaves, beans, onions).	Tailor	Tailor	Trader with small shop (tea, cloth, sandals, soft drinks, mosquito nets, etc.).	Tailor	Shoemaker
A5 Residence	Kuntaur	Kuntaur	Kuntaur	Kaur	Kaur	Kaur
Senegambian Contact						
B1 Kin & Affines	✓	✓ Dakar	✓ Birkelane	✓One of two wives in Dakar	✓ Wife in Kaffrine	✓
B2 Occupation	Goes to Koungheul or Kaolack to restock.	Gets zips & cotton in Dakar.	-	-	-	-
B3 Religion	Murid	Tijän	Tijān	Murid	Murid	Niassene
B4 Education	-	Children in Dakar	-	Children at school in Senegal	-	-
Language Repertoire						
C1 HL1	Serer-Sine	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2	Wolof	-	-	-	-	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Serer-Sine Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education(A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof, Mandinka.	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	Wolof	Wolof, understands a little Mandinka.	Wolof, Mandinka, & a little Fula.	Wolof, a little Mandinka.	Wolof	Wolof
C8 OL1	-	a little French	a v. little French	Counts in French	-	-
C9 OL2	-	a few words re trade.	-	& English	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof	Wolof, understands a little Mandinka.	Wolof, Mandinka & little Fula.	Wolof, a little Mandinka.	Wolof	Wolof
Other						
E1 Reason given for migration	Commerce	Came looking for work (7 years ago).	Came to make money (15 years ago).	Commerce (11 years ago).	Unemployment (6 months ago).	Came looking for work (11 years ago).
	XV:49	XV:50	XV:51	XV:52	XV:53	XV:54

Table XV: Assorted Market Trades and Occupations: Maintenance of Language Loyalties among Senegalese Migrant Workers

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	M20+	M40+	M60+	M30+	M30+	M30+
A2 Birthplace	Diourbel	Touba Mbaké	Dakar	Kaffrine	Diourbel	Nioro
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Tailor	Market trader (macaroni, chilli powder, potatoes, oil, dried fish, cloth, sandals)	Small restaurant owner	Butcher	Tailor	Butcher
A5 Residence	Kaur	Kaur	Kaur	Kaur	Kaur	Kaur
Senegambian Contact						
B1 Kin & Affines	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
B2 Occupation	-	Gets some provisions Kaolack & Dakar	-	-	-	-
B3 Religion	Murid	Murid	-		Murid	✓.
B4 Education	-	Children in Senegal	-	-	-	-
Language Repertoire						
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Hossaniya	Wolof	Hossaniya
C2 HL2				Wolof		Wolof
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Mandinka, Wolof.	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	Wolof, a little Fula.	Wolof, a little Mandinka.	Wolof, a little Fula.	Wolof	Wolof, a little Fula.	Wolof, a little Fula and Mandinka.
C8 OL1	v. little French	a little French	a v. little French	-	Vocabulary in French & English re trade	a little French
C9 OL2	-	-	counts in English	-		-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, a little Fula.	Wolof, a little Mandinka.	Wolof, a little Fula.	Wolof	Wolof, a little Fula.	Wolof, a little Fula & Mandinka.
Other						
E1 Reason given for migration	Unemployment (6 months ago).	Commerce (10 years ago).	Economic (30 years ago).	Unemployment (1 month ago).	Looking for for work (5 years ago).	Economic (11 years ago) Previously in Banjul for 4 years.
	XV:55	XV:56	XV:57	XV:58	XV:59	XV:60

Table XV: Assorted Market Trades and Occupations: Maintenance of Language Loyalties among Senegalese Migrant Workers

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	M40+	M30+	M50+	M30+	M40+	M20+
A2 Birthplace	Touba Mbaké	Ndao	Gossas	Birkelane	Louga	Diourbel
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Mattress maker	Mattress maker	Blacksmith	Butcher	Small restaurant owner	Wood trader
A5 Residence	Kaur	Kaur	Kaur	Kaur	Kaur	Banjul
Senegambian Contact						
B1 Kin & Affines	✓ Touba & Tivaouane	✓	✓ Wife in Gossas	✓ Birkelane	✓Wife & children in Kaffrine	✓
B2 Occupation	Returns in wet season	-	Gets metal from Kaolack	-	-	Buys in Gambia, Guinea Bissau & Casamance for sale in Dakar.
B3 Religion	Murid	Murid	Murid	-	Tijan	Murid
B4 Education	Children educated in Senegal	Children at French-medium schools	Children at school Gossas	-	Children at French-medium schools	-
Language Repertoire						
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Hossaniya	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2	-	-	-	Wolof	Fula	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof, Fula.	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof, Mandinka.	Wolof, Mandinka.	Wolof, Mandinka.
C7 WLs	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof, a little Fula.	Wolof, Mandinka a little Fula.	Wolof, a little Mandinka & Fula.	Wolof, Crioulo (Guinea Bissau).
C8 OL1	-	-	-	-	-	a little French
C9 OL2	-	-	-	-	-	counts in English
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof Mandinka a little Fula	Wolof a little Mandinka & Fula	Wolof
Other						
E1 Reason given for migration	Economic (20 years ago).	Unemployment (1 year ago).	Came to find work in the Gambia 18 yrs ago, last 4 yrs in Kaur.	Came to find work 2 years ago. Picked up some Fula in N. Senegal & Mandinka in Casamance.	Economic (6 years ago).	Commerce (2 years ago).
	XV:61	XV:62	XV:63	XV:64	XV:65	XV:66

Table XV: Assorted Market Trades and Occupations: Maintenance of Language Loyalties among Senegalese Migrant Workers

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	F40+	M60+	M30+	M20+	F30+	F40+
A2 Place of Birth	Kaolack	Diourbel	Podor	Dakar	Dakar	Kaolack
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	?
A4 Occupation	Market trader (onions, potatoes, garlic, cabbage)	Gold & silver smith	Petty trader (cloth, beads, Islamic literature, hats)	Tailor	Petty trader (False hair, curaay, potions, jewellery)	Petty trader (cosmetics, hair pieces, jewellery, curaay)
A5 Residence	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul
Senegambian Contact						
B1 Kin & Affines	✓	✓	✓	✓	Husband in Dakar	Husband & children in Kaolack
B2 Occupation	Restocks Kaolack	Occasionally buys metal	Islamic lit. from Kaolack & Dakar	Sewing machine from Dakar	Restocks Kaolack or Dakar	Restocks in Kaolack
B3 Religion	-	Murid	Tijān	Murid	✓	-
B4 Education	Children at Ecole Sénégalaise, Banjul.	Some educated Senegal, some in the Gambia	-	-	-	Children in Kaolack
Language Repertoire						
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Fula	Wolof	Fula('Lawbe')	Fula ('Lawbe')
C2 HL2	-				Wolof	Wolof
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Fula	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education (A3)	a little Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	?
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof, Mandinka.	Wolof
C7 WLs	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof, Fula.	Wolof	Wolof, a little Mandinka.	Wolof
C8 OL1	Understands a little	v. limited French	a few French phrases	Trade vocabulary in French & English	Counts in French & English	-
C9 OL2	-	counts in English	understands a little			
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof, a little Mandinka.	Wolof
Other						
E1 Reason given for migration	Came looking for work (14 years ago).	Commerce (since 1934).	Commerce Learnt Wolof in Kaolack.	Economic.	Commerce.	Commerce (a year ago).
	XV:67	XV:68	XV:69	XV:70	XV:71	XV:72

Table XV: Assorted Market Trades and Occupations: Maintenance of Language Loyalties among Senegalese Migrant Workers

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	F40+	F30+	F30+	F40+	F50+
A2 Birthplace	Kaolack	Dakar	Kaolack	Kaolack	Kaolack
A3 Education	Limited Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	?	Limited Quranic
A4 Occupation	Petty trader (hair lotion, henna, curaay, false hair).	Petty trader (henna, hair pieces, jewellery, curaay).	Petty trader (henna, hair pieces, potions).	Petty trader (jewellery, cowrie shells, hair dye, henna).	Petty trader (curaay, henna, bracelets, false hair).
A5 Residence	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul
Senegambian Contact					
B1 Kin & Affines	✓ Kaolack	✓	✓	✓ Husband trading	✓
B2 Occupation	Restocks Kaolack	Restocks every month	Restocks & trades	Restocks	Restocks Kaolack
B3 Religion	✓	✓	-	-	-
Education	-	-	Children at school Kaolack	-	-
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Fula ('Lawɓe')	Fula ('Lawɓe')	Fula ('Lawɓe')	Fula ('Lawɓe')	Fula ('Lawɓe')
C2 HL2	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education (A3)	Limited Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	?	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A3)	Wolof, Mandinka.	Wolof, Mandinka.	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	Wolof, counts in Mandinka.	Wolof, a little Mandinka.	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C8 OL1	Counts in French	-	-	Counts	-
C9 OL2	a few words	a few trading phrases	-	a little English to bargain.	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, a v. little Mandinka.	Wolof, a little Mandinka & English.	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
Other					
E1 Reason given for migration	Commerce.	Has been trading in Banjul last 10 years.	Spends alternate months Banjul and Kaolack.	Commerce.	Commerce.
	XV:73	XV:74	XV:75	XV:76	XV:77

Table XV: Assorted Market Trades and Occupations: Maintenance of Language Loyalties among Senegalese Migrant Workers

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	F30+	F30+	F60+	F50+	F60+
A2 Birthplace	Kaolack	Dakar	Kaolack	Diourbel	Ndarène
A3 Education	?	Limited Quranic	Limited Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Petty trader (jewellery, hair pieces, potions, curaay).	Petty trader (curaay, hair pieces, hair dye).	Petty trader (hair pieces, curaay, bracelets).	Petty trader (jewellery, curaay, hair pieces).	Petty trader (jewellery, hair lotion, & pieces, potions, cowrie shells).
A5 Residence	Banjul	Brikama	Brikama	Serrekunda	Serrekunda
Senegambian Contact					
B1 Kin & Affines	✓	✓	Husband trading	✓	✓
B2 Occupation	Restocks	Restocks Dakar alternate months.	Restocks	Restocks every 2 months Birkelane.	Restocks
B3 Religion	-	-	-	Murid	Murid
B4 Education	-	-	-	Children quranic school	-
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Fula ('Lawɓe')	Fula ('Lawɓe')	Fula ('Lawɓe')	Fula ('Lawɓe')	Fula ('Lawɓe')
C2 HL2	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education	?	Limited Arabic	Limited Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A3)	Wolof	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka, Wolof.	Mandinka, Wolof.
C7 WLs	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C8 OL1	counts	-	-	a little	-
C9 OL2	-	-	-	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
Other					
E1 Reason given for migration	Commerce	Commerce (returns alternate months).	Commerce	Commerce	Commerce
	XV:78	XV:79	XV:80	XV:81	XV:82

Table XV: Assorted Market Trades and Occupations: Maintenance of Language Loyalties among Senegalese Migrant Workers

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	F40+	F30+	F40+	F40+	F40+
A2 Place of birth	Kaolack	Kaolack	Kaolack	Ndarène	Kaolack
A3 Education	Some Quranic	?	?	Some Quranic	Some Quranic
A4 Occupation	Petty trader (jewellery, false hair, curaay).	Petty trader (hair pieces, earrings, bracelets, potions).	Petty trader (curaay, jewellery).	Petty trader (curaay, cosmetics, hair pieces, potions).	Petty trader (dates, jewellery, curaay, hair pieces).
A5 Residence	Serrekunda	Serrekunda	Basse	Banjul	Banjul
Senegambian Contact					
B1 Kin & Affines	✓	✓	✓	Husband trades Kaolack	✓
B2 Occupation	Restocks alternate months	Restocks Kaolack	Restocks & trades in cloth	Restocks & trades Kaolack	Restocks Kaolack
B3 Religion	✓	-	-	✓	✓
B4 Education	-	-	-	-	Children at school Kaolack
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Fula ('Lawɓe')	Fula ('Lawɓe')	Fula ('Lawɓe')	Fula ('Lawɓe')	Wolof
C2 HL2	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof, Serer-Sine.	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof, Serer-Sine.	Wolof
C4 L/Education	Arabic	?	?	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Mandinka, Wolof, Fula.	Mandinka, Wolof, Fula.	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof.	Wolof, Mandinka.	Wolof
C7 WLs	Wolof	Wolof & counts in Mandinka	Wolof, Fula (Tukulor & Fuladu).	Wolof, Mandinka.	Wolof
C8 OL1	a little French	-	a v. little French	v. limited French	-
C9 OL2	-	-	-	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof, Fula.	Wolof, Mandinka.	Wolof
Other					
E1 Reason given for migration	Commerce.	Commerce.	Commerce (between Kaolack, Basse & Velingara).	Commerce (between Kaolack, Farafenni & Banjul).	Commerce.
	XV: 83	XV:84	XV:85	XV:86	XV:87

Table XV: Assorted Market Trades and Occupations: Maintenance of Language Loyalties among Senegalese Migrant Workers

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	F50+	F50+	F30+	F40+	F40+
A2 Birthplace	Kaolack	Dakar	Kaolack	Kaolack	Dakar
A3 Education	Some Quranic	?	?	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Petty trader (henna, hair pieces, curaay, bracelets).	Petty trader (hair pieces, hair lotion, curaay).	Petty trader (hair pieces, henna, jewellery).	Petty trader (hair pieces, henna, jewellery).	Petty trader (false hair, potions, beads).
A5 Residence	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Serrekunda
Senegambian Contact					
B1 Kin & Affines	Husband makes shoes Kaolack	✓	✓	✓ Husband trades	✓
B2 Occupation	Restocks	Restocks Kaolack	Restocks	Restocks every month	Restocks Kaolack & Dakar
B3 Religion	-	-	-	✓	✓
B4 Education	Children at school Kaolack	-	-	-	-
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2	-	-	-	-	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof, Fula.	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education	Arabic	?	?	Arabic	Limited Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Mandinka, Wolof, Fula.
C7 WLs	Wolof	Wolof (& Fula in business in Kaolack).	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C8 OL1	Counts in French	Counts in French	Counts in French	-	-
C9 OL2	A few trading phrases	-	-	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
Other					
E1 Reason given for migration	Commerce.	Commerce (intermittent over last 2 years).	Commerce.	Commerce.	Commerce.
	XV:88	XV:89	XV:90	XV:91	XV:92

Table XV: Assorted Market Trades and Occupations: Maintenance of Language Loyalties among Senegalese Migrant Workers

Table XVI: Lawbe Carvers Associated with the Tourist Trade in the Gambia: Dependence on their Senegalese Trading Language

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M20+	M30+	M40+	M20+	M30+
A2 Birthplace	Kaolack	Dakar	St. Louis	Dakar	Rufisque
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Woodcarver	Woodcarver	Woodcarver	Woodcarver	Woodcarver
A5 Residence	Brikama	Brikama	Brikama	Brikama	Brikama
Senegambian Contact					
B1 Kin & Affines	✓	✓	Wife & children in Dakar	✓ Wife in Dakar	✓ Wife in Rufisque
B2 Occupation	✓ Seasonal	✓ Seasonal	✓ Seasonal	✓ Seasonal	✓ Seasonal
B3 Religion	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
B4 Education	-	-	Children at school in Dakar	-	-
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Fula ('Lawbe')	Fula ('Lawbe')	Fula ('Lawbe')	Fula ('Lawbe')	Fula ('Lawbe')
C2 HL2	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka
C7 Trade L.	Wolof, Mandinka, a little English & a few phrases in Swedish.	Wolof, a few phrases in English.	Wolof (sells to Wolof, Fula or Wolophone Mandinka vendors).	Wolof	Wolof
C8 OL1	a little French	a little French	a little French	v. limited French	limited French
C9 OL2	a little English	a few phrases	some English phrases	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, Mandinka, a little English.	Wolof, a little English.	Wolof, Fula, a little English.	Wolof	Wolof
Other					
E1 Reason given for migration	Tourism & proximity to forest.	Came 4 years ago to buy wood.	Availability of wood & tourists.	1st came 2 months ago - for economic reasons.	Came 1 month ago because unemployed in Senegal.
	XVI:1	XVI:2	XVI:3	XVI:4	XVI:5

Table XVI: Lawbe Carvers Associated with the Tourist Trade in the Gambia: Dependence on their Senegalese Trading Language

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	M40+	M30+	M40+	M40+	M30+	M20+
A2 Birthplace	Dakar	Rufisque	Dakar	St. Louis	Dakar	Diourbel
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Woodcarver	Woodcarver	Woodcarver	Woodcarver	Woodcarver	Woodcarver & trader
A5 Residence	Brikama	Brikama	Brikama	Brikama	Brikama	Banjul
Senegambian Contact						
B1 Kin & Affines	✓	✓	✓ Wife & children in Dakar	✓	✓	✓
B2 Occupation	✓ Seasonal	✓ Seasonal	✓ Seasonal	✓ Seasonal	✓ Seasonal	✓
B3 Religion	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
B4 Education	-	-	Children at French-medium schools	-	-	-
Language Repertoire						
C1 HL1	Fula ('Lawbe')	Fula ('Lawbe')	Fula ('Lawbe')	Fula ('Lawbe')	Fula ('Lawbe')	Fula ('Lawbe')
C2 HL2	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka	Wolof
C7 Trade L.	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	
C8 OL1	a little French	a v. little French.	a v. little French.	-	v. limited	A little
C9 OL2	-			-	-	A little English for selling.
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof, a little English.
Other						
E1 Reason given for migration	Availability of wood & better prices. Came just for tourist season.	Economic. Second time that has come.	Wood & tourists. Has been coming for last 3 yrs.	Availability of cheap wood for making drum bases.	Comes for tourist season (Oct.-Mar.)	Comes to buy wood & trade on behalf of brother (because less commercial competition).
	XVI:6	XVI:7	XVI:8	XVI:9	XVI:10	XVI:11

Table XVI: Lawbe Carvers Associated with the Tourist Trade in the Gambia: Dependence on their Senegalese Trading Language

Bansang and Georgetown (where the Senegalese Wolof interviewed recognised the greater numbers of Mandinka and Fula among the population), implies that clients from other ethnic backgrounds understand enough Wolof to use it in the market area. While a minority of the sample spoke fluent Mandinka and/or Fula, the emphasis by all (103) informants on the significance of the Wolof language in trade throughout Senegambia perhaps reflects the prominent role taken by Senegalese traders and migrant workers (in particular, the Wolof) in Gambian commercial centres.

5.1.2. Senegalese Workers associated with the Building Trade

These skilled workers were drawn towards commercial centres because of the building operations that urban development in the Gambia has necessitated. Although these workers were not directly involved in commerce, the demand for their skills has depended on the prosperity of the market area, just as the presence of the mechanics in Table XIV provided another consequence of commercial activity in its response to the increasing amount of traffic.

Workers associated with the building trade, such as the contractors, masons, electricians and painters in this study, had secured employment in the Gambia because of a shortage of local people with such skills. They had learnt their profession in Senegal, but had come to the Gambia to find work. Many of those interviewed believed the building trade to be dominated by colleagues with similar Senegalese origins, but, while the large numbers of

skilled workers from Senegal may reflect the difference in population figures,[1] the contractors in this study were sensitive about giving preference in employment to Senegalese workers, which could lead to accusations of being anti-Gambian. The associations formed by Senegalese workers in major Gambian towns[2] are not intended to find work for new arrivals to the detriment of the local population, but, as a mutual-aid and benefit society, designed to protect the interests of migrant workers, they may orientate them towards possible openings.

Although all (10) workers in Table XVII used Wolof primarily in contact with their boss on the building site, or through directing other workers, most of them (7/10) had found it an asset to be able to speak the other lingue franche of the locality. This was particularly evident among those who had worked, or who were working, in centres outside Banjul like Basse or Bansang. (4) informants had picked up some English through contact with non-African employers (XVII:1,6,7,8), but this had arisen essentially from being in an intermediary position between the main contractor, or employer, who did not speak a local language, and the builders on site, with whom local languages of wider communication would be used.

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1. Cf. an estimated population total of 3,620,023 in Sénégal 1970/71, and the population census figure of 493,197 in the Gambia for 1973 (see Enquête Démographique 1970/71, unpublished survey undertaken by the Direction de la Statistique, Ministère des Affaires Economiques, Dakar, and the Population Census 1973, provisional report published by the Central Statistics Division, the President's Office, Banjul, June 1973).

2. See p. 377.

Table XVII: Senegalese Workers Associated with the Building Trade.

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M50+	M50+	M40+	M40+	M50+
A2 Birthplace	Rufisque	Dakar	Nioro du Rip	Koussanar	Sokone
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic & primary	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Building contractor	Building contractor	Electrician	Mason	Painter & Mason
A5 Residence	Basse	Basse	Basse	Bansang	Georgetown
Senegambian Contact					
B1 Kin & Affines	Wives & children in Rufisque.	Wife & children in Dakar.	Family in Nioro	Visits kin & affines	Has left family there.
B2 Occupation	-	-	Commutes between Nioro & Basse - sometimes goes to Velingara & Kolda (S).	-	
B3 Religion	Goes to Tijān Gamu at Tivaouane	Goes to Tijān Gamu at Tivaouane	✓	✓	Talibé of Serigne Momadou Amadou Dème.
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Serer-Sine	Mandinka (Jahanka)	Serer-Sine
C2 HL2	-	-	Wolof	Fula	Wolof
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Fula	Wolof
C4 L/Education	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Fula, Mandinka.	Mandinka, Fula.	Mandinka, Fula (Fuladu).	Mandinka, Fula.	Mandinka, Fula.
C7 WLs	Wolof, Mandinka, Fula.	Wolof, a little Fula.	Wolof, Fula, a little Mandinka.	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof, a little Serahuli.	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof.
C8 OL1	a little French	some French	a little French	French primary.	a little French
C9 OL2	Learnt some English in Banjul.	-	-	some vocabulary.	-
C10 S/G LWC	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof, some English.	Wolof, a little Fula.	Wolof, Fula, a little Mandinka.	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof, Serahuli.	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof.
Other					
E1 Comments	Uses English with Europeans & Akus.			Learnt Wolof as an apprentice to a Wolof mason in Tambacounda (S).	
E2 Reason for migration	Came to Gambia to make money. 12 years in Banjul, last 3 years in Basse.	Came 8 years ago to make money.	Commutes according to availability of work in Sine Saloum, Upper River Division & Casamance.	For last 3 years has moved between Basse, Bansang, Dembakunda and Gambissara (G).	Came 3 years ago to find work.
	XVII:1	XVII:2	XVII:3	XVII:4	XVII:5

Table XVII: Senegalese Workers Associated with the Gambian Building Trade

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M50+	M60+	M50+	M40+	M40+
A2 Birthplace	Djilor	Boul Diammeh near Sokone	Kaolack	Dakar	Rufisque
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	At present clerk of works in fisheries company	Builder/Mason	Mason	Mason	Painter
A5 Residence	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Banjul	Bansang
Senegambian Contact					
B1 Kin & Affines	Kin in Djilor	Kin in Sokone	Family still in Kaolack	Kin in Dakar	Family in Rufisque
B2 Occupation	At least half the workers of Senegalese origin	-	-	-	-
B3 Religion	Marabout in Sokone	✓	✓ Niassène	Goes to annual Gamu in Tivaouane	Attends Grand Magal in Touba annually
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Serer-Sine	Serer-Sine	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2	Wolof	Wolof	-	-	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Serer-Sine, Wolof	Serer-Sine, Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Mandinka, Wolof Fula
C7 WLs	Wolof mainly, Fula occasionally. A little English with Japanese boss.	Wolof, Mandinka, Fula, a little Jola (Kombo) and Serahuli.	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C8 OL1	Some French	Some French	A little French	A little French	Very little
C9 OL2	A little English	& English learnt from contractors	A little English	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, Fula, a little English, Aku, Jola (Kombo).	Wolof, Mandinka, Fula, a little English, Jola (Kombo) & Serahuli	Wolof, a little English	Wolof	Wolof
Other					
E1 Comments					
E2 Reason for migration	Came to join father and learnt trade as a mason from him.	Came looking for work 40 years ago (26 years in Bansang, short periods in Basse, Fatoto, Kaur & Kuntaur)	Came to find employment 3 years ago.	Came for economic reasons 5 years ago.	Came looking for work.
	XVII:6	XVII:7	XVII:8	XVII:9	XVII:10

Table XVII: Senegalese Workers Associated with the Gambian Building Trade

5.1.3. Serer Niominka fishermen

Introduction

The Serer Niominka leave their homes in the Saloum Islands during the dry season to fish off La Petite Côte, Niombato, the Gambia and the Casamance. They dominate the supply of dried and fresh fish in the Gambia[1] by establishing themselves from November to June in island teams in Banjul, or at different bases up-river.[2] At the beginning of the wet season, they return to their island of origin and cultivate rice, millet and occasionally groundnuts, but, after the harvest, they usually go back to fish from the same base as before. This seasonal migration (which often involves complete families when the wives accompany their husbands to sell cere in the market)[3], leads to a particular pattern of language

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1. A. Olu-Thomas, Senior Fisheries Officer, considered that the percentage of fishermen in the Gambia quoted as being Senegalese in origin in his earlier article (60%) to be still substantially the same (See Fisheries Publication, No.7: Concise Description of the Fisheries of the Gambia, Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Banjul, November, 1973). He identified the Serer-Niominka for their characteristic skill and dynamism as fishermen, and considered them to be the main group dominating the Gambian fish industry, followed by the Lebou and the Subalbe, who are also of Senegalese origin (Personal communication, Banjul, 5.12.75).
2. The Serer Niominka communities interviewed at Kuntaur and Kaur (G) in May 1975, came from Dionewar. The fishermen interviewed at Ngadior (S) in August 1975, were all based in Banjul during the dry season.
3. Cere, or coos, often constitutes the basis of the evening meal, and is prepared from millet flour (See Gamble,D., 1967:37). Gamble also mentions (1967:101) the tendency for Serer women to specialise in selling this commodity.

acquisition and usage; since fishing, trading and lodging in a certain place for eight months of the year necessitates communicating in languages other than their first language: Niominka.

The ethno-linguistic origins of the Serer Niominka remain obscure because of the mystery surrounding their migration to the Saloum Islands, and their ambiguous relationship with the inhabitants of the Betanti Islands to the south. Several Serer Niominka informants considered their first language to be a dialect of Serer-Sine, but Lavergne de Tressan (1953:150) comments on its closer similarity to the dialect of Serer spoken on La Petite Côte around Fadiouth and Palmerin. The Serer Niominka attribute their name to the Manding, meaning 'the people of Niumi', but they inhabit a group of islands known as Gandoul, which are separated from Niombato by Diombos creek. While several sources agree that the original inhabitants of the Islands came from Kaabu,[1] it is uncertain whether the first migrants were Serer or Mandinka, but the greater Serer influence on Gandoul (arising from the neighbouring kingdom of Saloum and the immigration of the Serer from La Petite Côte) can be contrasted to the closer identification of the Betanti Islanders with the Manding (Pélissier, 1966:407-409).

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1. e.g. Leading informants from Ngadior, Dionewar and Tialane; Pélissier's interviews in the islands (1966: 407); Lafont, 1938:392. Gamble (1967:99) quotes Wintz (1909) and Ezanno (1919) on this original migration from Kaabu, but the historical inter-relationship of the Serer with other ethnic groups (such as the Fulbe, the Jola and the Manding) remains unclear. On Serer origins, see section (3.1.4.).

Nevertheless, although the Serer Niominka have more in common through their language and customs with the Serer on La Petite Côte, cultural and commercial links can be identified between Gandoul and Niombato through similar beliefs in a common origin from Kaabu, and the impetus that certain Mandinka marabouts gave to the islamisation of the Serer Niominka during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Informants in Ngadior agreed about the prominent role that the Manding had played in their conversion to Islam, referring to efforts made by marabouts from Niombato under the inspiration of Mà Ba's holy jihād in Sine Saloum. Lafont (1938:394) cites Fodé Senghor of Missira, Fodé Karamo Marone of Betanti and Fodé Saloum of Sangako as the leaders of this mission, but, although some islands[1] conceded quickly to their influence, others resisted so successfully in battles, like that of Falia and Moundé, that their eventual conversion by the Manding resulted (as in Casamance[2]) from more peaceful means.

Senegambian contact

The (39) fishermen in Table XVIII,[3] whose profession

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1. e.g. Dionewar, Niodior, Diogane.
2. See pp.182,183.
3. (39) informants were fishermen by profession, but one was concentrating on shipbuilding (XVIII:3), while another was trading in dried fish (XVIII:26). A third informant combined fishing with his second profession as a tailor (XVIII:7). The fortieth informant (XVIII:5) was the wife of a fisherman.

took, or had taken them to the Gambia during the dry season, all originated from Gandoul, with Niominka as their first language. The most common reason given for fishing in the Gambia was "through habit, because my father or brother used to fish there", but several factors seemed to have made the area more attractive for them than other fishing grounds off the Senegambian coast.

Apart from the relative proximity of the Gambia and the easiness of the voyage (via Diogane and Betanti, or through the bolongs[1] past Toubakouta), economic necessity has also encouraged people to leave the islands to earn money through fishing. For example, the need to build stone houses was identified by some islanders as putting an impetus on movement to the Gambia during the period after the two World Wars. Several fishermen in Ngadior remembered a fire in 1955 that had led to people building more substantial homes with money, and, in some cases building materials, brought from the Gambia. In times of hardship such as the Second World War, food and clothing were reputedly cheaper in the Gambia than in Senegal, and so fishing families returned with supplies for their personal needs, as well as a little extra for trading on La Petite Côte in exchange for millet and rice. While the majority of those interviewed emphasized that their main priority in the Gambia was fishing, some of them admitted that they had taken commercial advantage of the difference in prices between certain goods in Senegal and the Gambia,[2] or had acted as middlemen for produce that had

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1. Bolong (M.): creek

2. See section (4.3.7.).

been brought up the coast from the Republics of Guinea or Guinea-Bissau. The development of their distinctive large boats (which are at least two or three times the size of the canoes used for short fishing trips) is attributed by Pélissier (1966:413) to El Hadj Abdou Kader Ndiaye of Dionewar, He began to build them just before the Second World War, perhaps designing them to carry large amounts of merchandise from neighbouring countries to profit from shortages in Senegal at that time. The families interviewed in Banjul said that these boats were used for long-distance fishing on the high seas, as well as for the transport of all their belongings between the islands and the Gambia, but El Hadj Ndiagga Barreau of Ngadior thought that they had been developed initially for the long-distance transport of large quantities of salt[1] and dried fish, which used to be sold on the Guinea coast in part exchange for millet.

Harsh conscription policies were also cited as a reason for going to the Gambia, which seemed to provide a safer refuge than escaping down the creeks on a fishing

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1. The salt trade was also cited by another fisherman from Ngadior as the reason why the inhabitants of Dionewar should build such large boats. The people of Ngadior (in the interior of Gandoul) referred to the people of Dionewar and Niodior (the most westerly islands) as herena, meaning 'those on the outside', (i.e. at the exterior), but denied that the Niominka spoken there differed much from their own, apart from a few phonological differences.

expedition, whenever warnings came from a neighbouring island that the local authorities were conducting their enlistment campaign in the area. A few examples were given of people who had gone to Banjul to avoid military service, and had subsequently stayed there permanently; but one fisherman remembered a particular time during the First World War when the British recruitment effort was accentuated, and so the younger fishermen had to wait out in the bay while the older men landed in Banjul to sell their catch.

One informant considered the Gambia to be an attractive base during the dry season because of the availability of the asim bush, whose thorns are pounded together with baobab bark to make a pliant substance used in boat building. Since these bushes can be found around the Lamine/Brikama area, he preferred fishing off Banjul to further down the coast or up-river.

It was emphasized that their first language, Niominka, could only be used in communication with other islanders, or with those speaking dialects of Serer-Sine . The main language that the islanders had learnt through contact with the mainland was Wolof (XVIII:C6). Some of the islanders had previously used other fishing grounds outside the Gambia (XVIII:7,1), but, although (4) of them were slightly familiar with the Jola Foñi, Buluf or Kasa languages from having been in Casamance, they admitted that they had used their second language, Wolof, as their main language of wider communication in that part of Senegal (XVIII:4,18,20,25).

Although it could have been assumed from the

confused accounts concerning the inter-relationship between Gandoul and Niombato (Pélissier, 1966:407) that Mandinka would be the primary language of wider communication between the islands and the exterior, this did not appear to be so. Niombato provided an attractive fishing ground for the Serer Niominka because of its close proximity across Diombos creek, but only (4) informants had learnt fluent Mandinka through fishing between its bolongs, using Toubakouta, Missira, or Sandikoli, as their base (XVIII:9,11,22,23). (3) others had also spent several seasons in the Betanti islands (XVIII:13,17,19), studying the Qur'an with local marabouts as well as fishing, but they had not learnt much Mandinka because these particular teachers either spoke Wolof or a dialect of Serer-Sine. Mandinka thus emerged as a third language for the Serer-Niominka, with the first language learnt after the home language generally being Wolof: the language used for initial contact with the mainland.

Apart from (5) informants who had improved their Wolof in Banjul (XVIII:10,14,15,18,25), (19) of them claimed that they had learnt Mandinka through fishing up the Gambia river. (10) fishermen had also learnt a little Fula, but these included (6) Serer Niominka, based in Kuntaur, where they considered Mandinka and Fula to be more important than Wolof as trading languages. Not all the fishermen were directly involved in selling their catches in Gambian market places, as it seemed to be common practice to delegate this function to a member of the group. However, there was general agreement that Wolof was their main trading language, particularly in Banjul, with Mandinka,

and, to a lesser extent, Fula, useful in trading up-river.

Few of the informants had much social contact with local inhabitants, since they preferred to spend their free time with their fishing companions from the same island. (3) informants lived in separate Serer Niominka compounds, while the communities in Kaur and Kuntaur lived in homes that had been temporarily constructed for the season. (5) fishermen stated that they usually lodged in Wolof compounds in the Gambia, while another (2) stayed in Mandinka compounds, but nobody cited the need to communicate with his landlord as necessitating learning another language, apart from the local trading lingua franca,

Knowledge of French or English was limited to certain specific experiences or situations. (4) informants had served in the French army during the Second World War, which had consequently led to learning some French,[1] but this had lapsed through thirty years of little usage. Only (1) former fisherman from Ngadior (XVIII:26), who was dealing in dried fish in Kaolack, occasionally found

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1. These fishermen (XVIII:20,22,23,26) cited Bambara, rather than French, as the language in which they had become the most fluent during their army service. The significance of Bambara as the main lingua franca used by the tirailleurs recruited for the French army from A.O.F., beyond the Four Communes (Delafosse, 1929:18; Labouret, 1934:154) perhaps arose from their initial limited knowledge of French. This even led to Bambara being used as a medium of instruction by the Troupes de la Marine (Alexandre, 1967:112). This use of an African language of wider communication in the army domain contrasted with language usage among the originaires (recruited from the Four Communes of St. Louis, Gorée, Dakar and Rufisque), who made a conscious effort to use the metropolitan language as far as possible.

himself in urban situations where tradesmen sometimes spoke a mixture of Wolof and French. (2) fishermen from Tialane (XVIII:1,2) had used a little Krio (Aku) in trading in Banjul market, but, for the rest of the informants, English or Aku did not appear to be essential in contact with the Gambia, apart from counting or recognising the names of certain popular British products, like 'Blueband margarine', 'aspro' and 'ludo'.

Quranic education was common to all informants, but (15) fishermen currently had children, or grandchildren, attending schools in Kaolack, Sokone, Ngadior, Dionewar or Banjul where French was the medium of instruction. The seasonal nature of their migration to the Gambia was emphasized by the fact that when a decision to break the traditional monopoly of Quranic education had been taken, these parents had opted for Senegalese, rather than Gambian, state schools. The French language and Senegalese system of education was considered to be more important for their children's futures, since despite (3) cases in which informants had subsequently settled permanently in the Gambia (XVIII:4,9,10), most of the Serer Niominka in this study considered working across the border to be a temporary economic expedient.

Table XVIII: Serer Niominka Communities from Gandoul: The Acquisition of Languages of Wider Communication Through Fishing off the Senegambian Coast.

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M40+	M40+	M60+	M70+	F40+
A2 Birthplace	Tialane (S)	Tialane (S)	Dionewar (S)	Tialane (S)	Kaolack (S)
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	-
A4 Occupation	Fisherman	Fisherman	Boatbuilder	Retd. fisherman	Sells cere
A5 Residence	Tialane	Tialane	Dionewar	Bakau (G)	Dionewar
Senegambian Contact					
B2 Occupation	Fishing off Banjul during dry season for last 25 yrs. Returns to farm.	Fishing off Banjul. First came with parents, returns to farm in wet season.	Based in Banjul for last 14 dry seasons. Returns to build boats.	Came to Gambia to fish with uncle 70 years ago	Husband fishes off Banjul. She sells cere on street corner.
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
C3 LWC (A2)	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	-
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC with mainland	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	-	Wolof
C7.1 WLs of previous fishing sites	Wolof (la Petite Côte)	Wolof & Fula (off Senegalese coast); a little Susu & Jalunka (Guinea); Krio & Susu (Freetown).	Wolof, Mandinka, Fula (up River Gambia).	Wolof, Fula & Mandinka (Kaur & Njau); a little Jola Buluf (2 seasons in Tendouck).	Wolof (Kaolack)
C7.2 WLs of present fishing site	Wolof, Mandinka	Mandinka (up River); Wolof (Banjul).	Wolof & Mandinka	Wolof, Fula, Mandinka & occasionally Jola Buluf.	Wolof & some Mandinka
C8 OL1	A little French	A little French	A little French	-	v. limited French
C9 OL2	A little	Understands a little from Krio	-	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, Mandinka	Wolof, Mandinka	Wolof, Mandinka, a little Fula.	Wolof, Mandinka, Fula & a little Jola Fuluf.	Wolof & some Mandinka
Children's Language Repertoires					
D1 HL1	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
D2 HL2	Wolof	-	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof (compound)
D3 L/Education	Arabic, French (Ecole Sénégalaise, Banjul).	Arabic (Tialane)	Daughters not at school.	Arabic. Some grandchildren having French-medium & some English as half family in Tialane.	Arabic & French (Ecole Sénégalaise, Banjul).
	XVIII:1	XVIII:2	XVIII:3	XVIII:4	XVIII:5

Table XVIII: Serer Niominka Communities from Gandoul: The Acquisition of Languages of Wider Communication Through Fishing off the Senegambian Coast

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M40+	M40+	M40+	M50+	M60+
A2 Birthplace	Dionewar (S)	Dionewar (S)	Banjul	Djirnda (S)	Niodior (S)
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Fisherman	Tailor & fisherman	Fisherman	Fisherman	Fisherman
A5 Residence	Dionewar	Dionewar	Dionewar	Banjul	Banjul
Senegambian Contact					
B2 Occupation	Fishing in Gambia for last 5 seasons, returns to grow rice.	Has been fishing in Gambian for last 20 yrs. Returns to grow rice.	Parents fished off Banjul. He comes every dry season.	Started coming to fish in Gambia in 1952. Returns if has business to settle.	Came with father 55 years ago, & has settled permanently fishing & trading.
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
C3 LWC (A2)	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Wolof	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC with mainland	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7.1. WLs of previous fishing sites	Wolof (Kaolack); Mandinka (Baddibu).	Wolof (Kaolack, where learnt trade as tailor).	A little Fula & Mandinka (Basse-G).	Wolof (Dakar, Mbour, Kaolack); Mandinka (Bolongs of Niumi).	Wolof (off Senegalese coast).
C7.2. WLs of present fishing site	Wolof	Wolof a little Mandinka	Wolof Fula Mandinka	Wolof Mandinka	Wolof
C8 OL1	-	little French	-	v. limited French	-
C9 OL2	-	-	-	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, Mandinka	Wolof, a little Mandinka.	Wolof, Fula, Mandinka.	Wolof, some Mandinka.	Wolof
Children's Language Repertoires					
D1 HL1	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	-
D2 HL2	-	Wolof (compound)	-	Wolof (compound)	-
D3 L/Education	Arabic (Dionewar).	Not yet old enough.	Arabic	Arabic & French (Ecole Sénégalaise Banjul).	-
	XVIII:6	XVIII:7	XVIII:8	XVIII:9	XVIII:10

Table XVIII: Serer Niominka Communities from Gandoul: The Acquisition of Languages of Wider Communication Through Fishing off the Senegambian Coast

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M70+	M70+	M40+	M60+	M50+
A2 Birthplace	Ngadior (S)	Ngadior (S)	Ngadior (S)	Ngadior (S)	Ngadior (S)
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Retired fisherman	Retired fisherman	Fisherman	Fisherman	Fisherman
A5 Residence	Ngadior	Ngadior	Ngadior	Ngadior	Ngadior
Senegambian Contact					
B2 Occupation	Followed father's example by going to Banjul to fish.	First went to Gambia as a child. Used to fish off Banjul, returning for wet season.	First went to Banjul as a child; when fishes there wives sell cere.	Originally went with father & uncle. Wives sell cere.	Originally went with father. Still spends dry season there.
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
C3 LWC (A2)	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC with mainland	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7.1. WLs of previous fishing sites	Wolof (Kaolack & Foundiogne-S); Mandinka (35 seasons in Toubakouta S).	Wolof (off Sokone & Djilor-S); Wolof in Banjul.	Wolof (Mbour, Kaolack, Sokone-S); Mandinka (off Djinakh).	Wolof (Kaolack & Sokone); a little Mandinka (Bani near Toubakouta)	Wolof (fishing & farming at Félane-S).
C7.2. WLs of present fishing site	Retired	Retired	Wolof	Wolof (consolidated in Banjul).	Wolof (improved in Banjul).
C8 OL1	-	-	-	-	-
C9 OL2	-	-	-	Can count in English	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, Mandinka	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
Children's Language Repertoires					
D1 HL1	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
D2 HL2	Mandinka (compound in Toubakouta).	-	-	-	-
D3 L/Education	Arabic, French (Toubakouta).	Arabic	Arabic, French (Ngadior).	Arabic	Arabic (some grandchildren French-medium education).
	XVIII:11	XVIII:12	XVIII:13	XVIII:14	XVIII:15

Table XVIII: Serer Niominka Communities from Gandoul: The Acquisition of Languages of Wider Communication Through Fishing off the Senegambian Coast

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M60+	M50+	M60+	M50+	M50+
A2 Birthplace	Ngadior (S)	Ngadior (S)	Ngadior (S)	Ngadior (S)	Dionewar (S)
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Retired fisherman	Fisherman	Fisherman	Fisherman	Fisherman
A5 Residence	Ngadior	Ngadior	Ngadior	Ngadior	Dionewar
Senegambian Contact					
B2 Occupation	First went to Banjul with his brother. Used to spend every dry season there.	Used to go to Banjul to fish.	Used to go to Banjul to fish during dry season.	Followed example of father by fishing in the Gambia, but not in wet season.	Fishes off Banjul & up river.
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
C3 LWC (A2)	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
C4 L/Education	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC with mainland	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7.1 LWLs of previous fishing sites	Wolof (Kaolack, Sokone, Foundiougne-S)	Wolof (Kaolack & Sokone); Wolof (Banjul).	Wolof (Sokone); some Mandinka (Missira); Wolof & a little Jola Kasa (Casamance).	Wolof (Sokone & Kaolack-S); a little Mandinka (Missira).	Wolof (off Senegalese coast); Wolof & some Jola Kasa (Casamance).
C7.2. WLs of present fishing sites	Wolof	Wolof (off Niombato).	Wolof (which was consolidated in Banjul)	Wolof	Wolof (Banjul) Mandinka (up river)
C8 OL1	-	-	-	Can count in French	a little French (army)
C9 OL2	-	-	-	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof, Mandinka
Children's Language Repertoires					
D1 HL1	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
D2 HL2	-	-	-	-	-
D3 L/Education	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic French (Dionewar)
	XVIII:16	XVIII:17	XVIII:18	XVIII:19	XVIII:20

Table XVIII: Serer Niominka Communities from Gandoul: The Acquisition of Languages of Wider Communication Through Fishing off the Senegambian Coast

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M60+	M50+	M50+	M40+	M40+
A2 Birthplace	Ngadior (S)	Ngadior (S)	Ngadior (S)	Ngadior (S)	Ngadior (S)
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Fisherman	Trader & fisherman	Fisherman	Fisherman	Fisherman
A5 Residence	Sokone	Ngadior	Ngadior	Ngadior	Ngadior
Senegambian Contact					
B2 Occupation	Usually goes to Banjul in dry season	Takes fishing equipment between Kaolack, Sokone, Ngadior & Banjul.	Fishes off Banjul & Sandikoli (S) where has a house.	Goes to Banjul in dry season to fish. Returns in wet season.	Fishes off Banjul.
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
C3 LWC (A2)	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (with mainland)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7.1. WLs of previous fishing sites	Wolof (La Petite Côte).	Wolof main trading language, Mandinka (Toubakouta).	Wolof (Kaolack & Sokone); Mandinka (Niombato).	Wolof (Sokone, Kaolack & Casamance).	Wolof (off La Petite Côte); a little Jola Kasa (Casamance).
C.7.2. WLs of present fishing site	Wolof, Mandinka	Wolof, occasionally Mandinka.	Wolof & Mandinka	Wolof	Wolof
C8 OL1	-	French (army)	Some French (from army)	-	-
C9 OL2	-	-	-	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, Mandinka	Wolof, Mandinka	Wolof, Mandinka	Wolof	Wolof
Children's Language Repertoire					
D1 HL1	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
D2 HL2	Wolof	-	Mandinka	-	-
D3 L/Education	Arabic, French	Arabic	Arabic & French (Sokone).	Arabic	Arabic
	XVIII:21	XVIII:22	XVIII:23	XVIII:24	XVIII:25

Table XVIII: Serer Niominka Communities from Gandoul: The Acquisition of Languages of Wider Communication Through Fishing off the Senegambian Coast

Background					
Age & Sex	M60+	M50+	M40+	M40+	M30+
A2 Birthplace	Ngadior (S)	Dionewar (S)	Dionewar (S)	Dionewar (S)	Dionewar (S)
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Ex-fisherman, now trades in dried fish.	Fisherman	Fisherman	Fisherman	Fisherman
A5 Residence	Kaolack	Dionewar	Dionewar	Dionewar	Dionewar
Senegambian Contact					
B2 Occupation	Fished for several seasons off Banjul.	Fishes off Kuntaur during dry season.	Has been fishing off Kuntaur for last 9 dry seasons.	Fishes off Kuntaur during dry season.	Fishes off Kuntaur. Returns to farm.
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
C3 LWC (A2)	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC with mainland	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7.1 WLs of previous fishing sites	Wolof (Sokone, Kaolack,Banjul)	Wolof (off Senegalese coast)	Wolof (Sokone, Kaolack)	Wolof (La Petite Côte)	Wolof (off Senegalese Coast)
C7.2 WLs of present fishing site	Wolof	Wolof Mandinka	Wolof Mandinka	Wolof, Mandinka, a little Fula.	Wolof, Mandinka, some Fula.
C8 OL1	Some French (from army),	a little	-	a little	a little
C9 OL2		Counts in English	-	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof	Wolof, Mandinka	Wolof Mandinka	Wolof Mandinka a little Fula	Wolof Mandinka Fula
Children's Language Repertoires					
D1 HL1	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
D2 HL2	Wolof	-	-	-	-
D3 L/Education	Arabic French (Kaolack)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic French (Dionewar)	Arabic
	XVIII:26	XVIII:27	XVIII:28	XVIII:29	XVIII:30

Table XVIII: Serer Niominka Communities from Gandoul: The Acquisition of Languages of Wider Communication Through Fishing off the Senegambian Coast

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M20+	M30+	M30+	M40+	M40+
A2 Birthplace	Dionewar (S)	Dionewar (S)	Dionewar (S)	Dionewar (S)	Dionewar (S)
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Fisherman	Fisherman	Fisherman	Fisherman	Fisherman
A5 Residence	Dionewar	Dionewar	Dionewar	Dionewar	Dionewar
Senegambian Contact					
B2 Occupation	Fishes off Kuntaur during dry season.	Fishes of Kuntaur. Returns to farm.	Fishes off Kuntaur & sells dried fish.	Fishes off Kuntaur during dry season.	Fishes off Kaur during dry season.
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
C3 LWC (A2)	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC with mainland	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7.1. WLs of previous fishing sites	Wolof (Sokone, Kaolack & Banjul).	Wolof (Kaolack)	Wolof (off Senegalese coast).	Wolof (Kaolack & Casamance).	Wolof (off Senegalese coast)
C7.2. WLs of present fishing site	Wolof, Mandinka, a little Fula.	Wolof, Mandinka, a little Fula.	Wolof, Mandinka, some Fula.	Wolof, Mandinka, some Fula.	Mandinka, Wolof
C8 OL1	very limited	-	A little	a little French	a little French
C9 OL2	-	-	Counts in English	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, Mandinka, a little Fula.	Wolof, Mandinka, & little Fula.	Wolof, Mandinka, some Fula.	Wolof, Mandinka, some Fula.	Wolof, Mandinka
Children's Language Repertoires					
D1 HL1	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
D2 HL2	-	-	-	-	-
D3 L/Education	Arabic	Arabic, French (Dionewar).	Arabic, French (Dionewar).	Arabic	Arabic
	XVIII:31	XVIII:32	XVIII:33	XVIII:34	XVIII:35

Table XVIII: Serer Niominka Communities from Gandoul: The Acquisition of Languages of Wider Communication Through Fishing off the Senegambian Coast

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M20+	M40+	M50+	M40+	M30+
A2 Birthplace	Dionewar (S)	Dionewar (S)	Dionewar (S)	Dionewar (S)	Dionewar (S)
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Occupation	Fisherman	Fisherman	Fisherman	Fisherman	Fisherman
A5 Residence	Dionewar	Dionewar	Dionewar	Dionewar	Dionewar
Senegambian Contact					
B2 Occupation	Fishes off Kaur during dry season. Returns to farm in wet season.	Has been fishing on Gambia River last 10 seasons. Now at Kaur.	Fishes off Kaur. Returns to farm in wet season.	Fishes off Kaur in dry season. Returns to farm.	Fishes off Kaur during dry season. Farms in Dionewar in wet season.
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Nioninka
C3 LWC (A2)	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC with mainland	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7.1 WLs of previous fishing sites	Wolof (Kaolack)	Wolof (La Petite Côte)	Wolof (off Senegalese coast & Banjul)	Wolof (off Senegalese coast)	Wolof (La Petite Côte); Mandinka (Casamance).
C7.2 WLs of present fishing site	Wolof, some Fula, Mandinka.	Mandinka, Wolof	Mandinka, Wolof	Mandinka, Wolof	Mandinka, Wolof
C8 OL1	-	A little French	A little French	A little French	A few words
C9 OL2	-	Counts in English	A few words	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Mandinka, Wolof, some Fula.	Mandinka, Wolof	Mandinka, Wolof	Mandinka, Wolof	Mandinka, Wolof
Children's Language Repertoire					
D1 HL1	-	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka	Serer Niominka
D2 HL2	-	-	-	-	-
D3 L/Education	-	Arabic, French (Dionewar).	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
	XVIII:36	XVIII:37	XVIII:38	XVIII:39	XVIII:40

Table XVIII: Serer Niominka Communities from Gandoul: The Acquisition of Languages of Wider Communication Through Fishing off the Senegambian Coast

5.1.4. Jola Foni and Jola Buluf Workers in Banjul

Introduction

Close family networks between the Gambia, Casamance and Guinea-Bissau have arisen from the movement of people across the region, generally instigated in the first place by economic factors. Certain major types of migratory patterns can be discerned behind these family networks: both southwards into the Casamance, and northwards to the Gambia and to the Sine Saloum and Cap Vert regions of Senegal.

Movement southwards tended to arise originally for commercial reasons, or for professional employment associated with the trading posts on the main river outlets. Such migrants included traders, store-keepers and shipwrights from St. Louis, Gorée or Dakar, who were attracted to the commercial centres on the River Casamance: first Karabane, and then Sédhiou and Ziguinchor. They sometimes settled in the area after marrying into other trading or sea-faring families.

Another important migratory pattern, this time in the other direction, occurred initially as an escape from religious[1] or colonial harassment. Subsequently, as the financial pressures of modernisation have gradually impinged on traditional village self-sufficiency, the search for employment has led to the large scale exodus of young Casamancais men and women from rural communities to the urban centres of the Gambia and Northern Senegal.

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1. See Leary (1971:238-240).

Table XX and Table XIX illustrate some of these migratory patterns, with the former concentrating on Casamancais inhabitants who had retained contact with kin in the Gambia for a variety of reasons. The other Table focusses on workers from Jola Foñi or Jola Buluf backgrounds,[1] who had come (or, in (3) cases had been) to Banjul to find employment.

The Gambia used to be particularly attractive to temporary Casamancais migrants, both as a haven from harsh conscription laws[2] (which met with strong resistance from the Jola Foñi and Jola Kasa in Basse Casamance),[3] and because its proximity facilitated returning to farm during the wet season. The improvement of road and ferry communications[4] may have drawn more migrant workers to other Northern centres, like Kaolack or Dakar; but they still continue to seek work in Banjul, particularly if they have kin already established there.

Casamancais migrants in the Gambia could be identified by the roadside at Denton Bridge, or on Lasso Wharf in Banjul, selling yoxos (oysters),[5] or as market

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1. The Jola Kasa also migrate northwards in substantial numbers, but this study does not include such informants from the Oussouye area to the south-west of Ziguinchor.

2. See Roche, C. (1974:13).

3. See Thomas, L.V. (1960:pp.493, et seq.).

4. See 'Trans-Gambian Road and Ferry: Agreements with the Government-General of French West Africa', Sessional paper No.3/56, Government Printer, Bathurst, 1956.

5. On migrations from certain Casamançais villages in connection with the oyster harvest, see Thomas, L.V. (1959:320; 1960:496).

women, specialising in netetu[1] and palm wine. The men had taken any employment available, thus working as labourers for the Public Works Department, apprentice drivers, gardeners or nightwatchmen. Many of the younger women were working as housemaids or washgirls, but, although they traditionally fulfil a crucial role in rice planting[2] in some parts of Casamance, the tendency to combine domestic service with a return to their village of origin during the wet season appeared to be changing. It seems that, after a few years of seasonal migration northwards, they become less inclined to return home to farm.

This option for more permanent employment was altering for several reasons. The strenuous task of rice cultivation is not a very attractive prospect to a migrant, once he or she has acquired a salaried job in a town further north. It was not surprising, therefore, that only (4) informants (XIX:10,13,15,16) mentioned that they returned every wet season to farm, but even these were doubtful whether their Gambian employers would allow such long absences to continue. One informant in Bignona mentioned the migratory pattern that prompted girls from the area to seek domestic work in the Gambia, until they had earned enough money to buy their trousseaux, but noted that this tendency was also disappearing.

The (16) Jola Foñi and Jola Buluf informants in this study provided an interesting contrast to the Casamançais people interviewed for Table XX, since the monolingualism

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1. A paste used for preparing certain sauces (fermented neto seed). W.
2. Rice cultivation in Casamance is discussed by Thomas, L.V. (1959:320) and Pelissier (1966:pp.709-159).

of their village of origin had necessitated new languages of wider communication once they migrated to Banjul, Kaolack or Dakar. The (5) informants, who understood a little Wolof before coming to the Gambia (XIX: 3,7,8,12,16), had "heard Wolof traders" using it in the market, but, apart from two informants who had worked in Dakar prior to coming to Banjul (XIX:2,4), all those interviewed considered that their Wolof had become fluent in the latter capital because of its significance as the major lingua franca. The (4) informants who spoke a little Mandinka had found that they had not needed it in Banjul to the same extent as Wolof; whereas the (5) informants, who identified Krio (Aku) as one of their languages of wider communication, had all been working in close contact with Aku or Aku-speaking non-Gambians.

Despite the role of English as the official language, only (2) workers (XIX:4,6) claimed to be able to use it in contact with their European employers. It was marginally more frequent for those interviewed in the Gambia to communicate with their employers in their original official language, with (6) informants benefitting from some previous education in French, and from contact with the Catholic mission in Bignona. The use of English or French emerged as being restricted to work domains, specifically involving the role relationship between the European employer and his Casamançais employee. Nevertheless, this particular role of European languages in work domains did not prevent the Casamançais migrant from learning or improving his Wolof in contact with Gambians in the same context, or the market place.

The unanimous adoption of Wolof as the major language of wider communication by everyone in Table XIX followed the tendency observed among other Casamançais workers to add this language to their linguistic repertoires through working in a Senegalese commercial centre. This migration pattern to Northern Senegal has been described as contributing to the "Sénégalisation" of the Jola (Thomas, 1960:506; Pélissier, 1966:817). On the one hand, Thomas (1960) deplores this migratory pattern, because of its acculturative influence, at the expense of the traditional culture and languages of the Casamance. On the other hand, Pélissier (1966:814, 820) sees the detrimental effects of the shift from seasonal to more permanent migration on the rice cultivation of the region.

However, apart from the adverse aspect of this migration pattern, the experience of working in Kaolack or Dakar undermines some of the suspicion and mistrust of the Casamançais people for Senegal north of the Gambia. Although the Casamance, with its history of resistance to colonial subjugation, and its geographical position, may have nurtured its independence from the rest of Senegal, improvements to communications, and increased patterns of migration, should succeed in fostering national unity. The linguistic aspect of this Senegalisation, which is demonstrated by the acquisition of Wolof, emerges from the Gambian, as well as from the Northern Senegalese experience. An additional pressure influencing this process can be cited in the former case, since the increasing emphasis on nationalism on both sides of the border perhaps succeeds in making the Casamançais migrant identify

as Senegalese once he finds himself in a Gambian setting.

The (14) informants in Table XX contrasted with those of Table XIX in that the majority (10/14) had grown up in complex speech communities, and therefore had spoken other languages, besides the dominant languages of their area of origin, since childhood. The remaining (4) informants had come from simpler speech communities, but had found themselves in situations where it was essential to be able to communicate with people from varied linguistic backgrounds. All the informants were based in positions in the major towns of the Casamance (10:Ziguinchor, 1:Velingara, 3:Bignona) which brought them into professional contact with a wider range of people than the Jola Buluf and Jola Foñi in domestic service in Banjul (Table XIX). The varied sample of professional employment, including a radio broadcaster, restaurant owner, cinema manager, court official, civil servant, griot[1] and nun, all necessitated communicating with an audience or clientele with whom it was advantageous to be able to utilise the most significant lingua franca. Thus (95%) of the court proceedings that one informant was involved with in Velingara (XX:8) were heard in the dominant language of the area, Fula Fuladu. In contrast, the radio programme for housewives, that another informant (XX:11) worked on, was broadcast from Ziguinchor in Mandinka, Jola Foñi, Crioulo, Fula Fuladu, Manjaku and Mankañ versions, because of the complex multilingual catchment area of Casamance. The restaurant, petrol station and cinema managers all referred to the importance of speaking, where possible, in the language of the client in order to maintain

1. i.e. praise singer or historical genealogist see p 237.

his custom.

The reasons given for Senegambian contact (Table XX:E2) illustrate not only the inter-relationship between several Casamançais/Guinean/Gambian families, but also show how Quranic or Christian studies can necessitate crossing the border (XX: 2,7,14). A successful businessman from Bignona (XX:13), having used Gambian bands for his bar/restaurant in the past, was at present extending his interests southwards in a new cinema venture for Bissau. Since the main reason for retaining contact emerged from kinship links, which had been originally created through the migration of the informant, or that of his kin, it was appropriate that in (10) cases the first language should be cited as the language used for communication across the border (XX:C10). The remaining (4) informants (XX:4,5,6,10) used their second or third language, with (3) of these cases arising from a shift in language habits through the influence of the dominant language of the locality. The Wolofisation of those who had migrated to important commercial centres, like Banjul or Ziguinchor, was evident from cases cited by (6) informants (XX:1,3,5,6, 11,14). Nevertheless, although the Casamançais informants emphasized the commercial importance of Wolof in Ziguinchor, they pointed out that this language had to compete with Mandinka, Crioulo, Jola Foñi and Jola Kasa in this regional centre.

All of the Jola Foñi and Jola Buluf migrants (Table XIX) used Wolof as their language of wider communication because of the significance of this language as the dominant lingua franca in the Banjul area. In contrast,

Table XIX: Migrant Jola Foni and Jola Buluf Workers in Banjul: Acquisition of new Languages of Wider Communication (LWCs).

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	F30+	F30+	F50+	M40+	M20+
A2 Birthplace	Bignona	Balinghor	Soutou	Tobor	Bignona
A3 Education	-	-	-	3 years primary	-
A4 Occupation	Cook	Washgirl	Shop assistant	Welder	Housemaid
A5 Residence	Banjul	Bakau	Banjul	Banjul	Dakar
Senegambian Contact					
B1 Kin & Affines	Kin in Bignona	✓ visits	✓ visits kin	✓ kin in Tobor	Aunt in Banjul
B2 Occupation	Now prefers to send money for others to farm	-	Used to go & help with rice & ground nut cultivation but now too tired.	-	Lived 7 years there.
B3 Religion	RC ✓	-	✓ RC	✓ RC	✓ RC
B4 Education	-	-		Nightschool Banjul	-
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Jola Fõni	Jola Buluf	Jola Foñi (Bignona)	Jola Foñi	Jola Foñi
C2 HL2	-	-	-	Mandinka	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Jola Foñi	Jola Buluf	Jola Foñi a little Wolof	Jola Foñi Mandinka	Jola Foñi
C4 L/Education	-	-	-	French, English.	-
C5 L/Religion	English	?	English, Wolof	English	French, Jola Foñi
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof, Mandinka, Aku	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof, Mandinka.	Wolof, Aku (in Banjul), Wolof (Dakar).
C7 WLs	Wolof or Aku Lebanese boss; Wolof, Aku, Jola Foñi, some Mandinka, a little Fula in market.	French to French & English employers, Wolof to other staff.	Wolof or Aku to Lebanese boss; Wolof, Aku, Mandinka, a little Fula in shop.	English to English boss; Wolof to colleagues.	Wolof. French with English boss in Dakar.
C8 OL1	-	picked up some French from school teacher husband.	-	French primary	Some French from living in Dakar.
C9 OL2	a v. little English	-	a little English	English night school	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, Aku, some Mandinka, a little Fula.	Wolof, a little French.	Wolof above all; Mandinka, Aku, a little Fula.	Wolof, Mandinka, Jola Foñi, English.	Learnt Wolof & Aku in Banjul (uncle Aku).
Other					
E1 Comments		Learnt Wolof in Dakar. Mandinka (Sédhiou) & Fula (Balakounda)	Wolof became fluent in Banjul.	Learnt Wolof above all in Dakar.	
E2 Reason for migration	Came during time of hardship in second world war.	Came for medical treatment & to find work.	Came to find work during war time.	Came to find work 20 years ago.	Went to live with aunt.
	XIX:1	XIX:2	XIX:3	XIX:4	XIX:5

Table XIX: Migrant Jola Foñi and Jola Buluf Workers in Banjul: Acquisition of New Languages of Wider Communication (LWCs)

Table XIX: Migrant Jola Foñi and Jola Buluf Workers in Banjul: Acquisition of New Languages of Wider Communication (LWCs).

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M50+	M20+	M20+	M40+	F20+
A2 Birthplace	Soutou	Bignona	Tobor	Bignona	Bignona
A3 Education	Primary	Primary	-	a little primary	a little primary
A4 Occupation	Houseboy	Houseboy	Apprentice driver	Cook	Washgirl
A5 Residence	Bignona	Bakau	Banjul	Bakau	Bakau
Senegambian Contact					
B1 Kin & Affines		✓ Bignona	✓ visits	✓ kin	✓ kin
B2 Occupation	Went to Banjul in 1940 to find work - returned Bignona 1946.		Now on Banjul/ Ziguinchor run.	-	Returns every wet season to help with rice.
B3 Religion	✓ RC	✓ RC	✓ RC	✓ RC	✓ RC
B4 Education	-	-	-	-	-
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Jola Foñi	Jola Foñi	Jola Foñi	Jola Foñi	Jola Foñi
C2 HL2	-	-	Mandinka	-	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Jola Foñi	Jola Foñi	Jola Foñi, Wolof, Mandinka, Crioulo	Jola Foñi	Jona Foñi
C4 L/Education	French	English	-	French	French
C5 L/Religion	French	English	French & Jola Foñi.	English	English, Latin, Wolof.
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof, Mandinka	Wolof	Wolof, Mandinka, Aku.	Wolof, Mandinka	Wolof
C7 WLs	Picked up a little English from English boss. Wolof with staff.	French to English employers. Jola Foñi to houseboy, Wolof to Mandinka cook.	Wolof or Aku (Aku boss); Wolof, Mandinka, Jola Foñi (passengers).	French to French boss, Jola Foñi to other staff.	French to French boss, Jola Foñi to others.
C8 OL1	French from school & army.	French from primary school.	Has picked up a little.	a little	a little
C9 OL2	a v. little	-	Has picked up a little.	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, Mandinka, a little English	Wolof, French	Wolof, Mandinka Jola Foñi, Aku.	Wolof above all, some Mandinka & French	Wolof, Jola Foñi, some French
Other					
E1 Comments	Also picked up Bambara in army.	A little Wolof beforehand, which has since improved.		Has learnt some Mandinka & fluent Wolof in Gambia.	Has picked up some Wolof but not very fluent.
E2 Reason for migration	Went to try luck on leaving school.	Came to find work because aunt & cousin already here.	Brother already here.	Came to find work 3 years ago.	Worked for 6 months in Ziguinchor before Banjul. Has kin already established (G).
	XIX:6	XIX:7	XIX:8	XIX:9	XIX:10

Background						
A1 Age & Sex	M20+	M20+	M50+	F50+	M20+	M20+
A2 Birthplace	Soutou	Bignona	Soutou	Soutou	Talloum	Talloum
A3 Education	a little	4 yrs primary	a little	-	primary & some secondary	a little primary
A4 Occupation	Gardener	Houseboy	Tailor	Housemaid	Labourer (Public Works Dept)	Gardener
A5 Residence	Bakau	Bakau	Banjul	Bignona	Banjul	Bakau
Senegambian Contact						
B1 Kin & Affines	✓ Kin	✓	✓	✓Kin	✓ Kin Talloum	✓
B2 Occupation	-	May return to farm	Goes back to farm	Went to Gambia as a child to live with uncle, then worked 20 years Banjul.	Went last wet season because father ill, but would lose job if went every year.	Returns in wet season.
B3 Religion	✓ RC	✓ RC	✓ RC	✓ RC	✓ RC	✓ RC
B4 Education	-	-				
Language Repertoire						
C1 HL1	Jola Foñi	Jola Foñi	Jola Foñi	Jola Foñi	Jola Foñi	Jola Foñi
C2 HL2	-	-	-	-	-	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Jola Foñi	Jola Foñi	Jola Foñi	Jola Foñi	Jola Foñi	Jola Foñi
C4 L/Education	French	French	French	-	French	French
C5 L/Religion	English	English, Wolof, Jola Foñi choir.	English	English		-
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof, Mandinka.	Wolof & Aku in Banjul. Fula & Mandinka up country.	Wolof (Fula & Mandinka more important outside Banjul).	Wolof, Mandinka, Aku
C7 WLs	French to French boss, Jola Foñi to other staff.	French to English boss, Jola Foñi to other staff.	Wolof, a little Aku & Mandinka.	Wolof & Aku	Wolof, Aku	Wolof with Aku boss & other staff.
C8 OL1	a little	French primary	French (primary)	a little	French	a little French
C9 OL2	-	-	very limited.	a little	a little	-
C10 S/C LWC	Wolof, French, Jola Foñi	Wolof, Jola Foñi, French.	Wolof, Mandinka, a little Aku	Wolof, Mandinka, Fula, Aku, Jola Foñi	Wolof, Aku, Jola Foñi, Mandinka	Wolof, Mandinka, Jola Foñi, a little Aku.
Other						
E1 Comments	Picked up Wolof in Bakau.	Could understand but not speak Wolof when arrived.	Learnt Wolof & a little Aku in Banjul, Mandinka from colleagues in Dakar.	Learnt Mandinka, Wolof, Aku & Fula through living with uncle in Georgetown.	Learnt some Wolof from schoolmates in Ziguinchor.	Wolof has improved here.
E2 Reason for migration	Came to find work 1 year ago.	Needed work & mother already here.	Came because friend said could find work.	Now back in Bignona.	Came because thought it would be easier to find work.	Came 2 years ago looking for work.
	XIX:11	XIX:12	XIX:13	XIX:14	XIX:15	XIX:16

Table XIX: Migrant Jola Foñi and Jola Buluf Workers in Banjul: Acquisition of New Languages of Wider Communication (LWCs)

Table XX: Casamançais families in contact with Gambian kin and affines: The use of the first language (HL1) as the Senegambian language of wider communication (S/G LWC).

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M50+	M50+	M30+	M40+	M30+
A2 Birthplace	Mompalago	Sibicouroto	Ziguinchor	Baila	Marsassoum
A3 Education	Primary	Quranic	Primary & secondary	Primary & quranic	Primary & secondary
A4 Occupation	Civil servant	Griot (Finanke)	Teacher	Civil servant	Radio broadcaster & researcher
A5 Residence	Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor
Senegambian Contact					
B1 Kin & Affines	✓ Banjul	Married two Gambian wives	✓ Kin in Banjul	✓ Kin in Brufut & Brikama	✓ Kin in Banjul
B2 Occupation	-	Lived in Brikama for professional reasons for 11 yrs.	-	-	Occasionally conducts interviews
B3 Religion	-	-	-	-	-
B6 Shopping	✓	-	✓	✓	✓
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Wolof	Mandinka	Wolof	Jola Foñi	Mandinka
C2 HL2	Jola Foñi	-	Crioulo, a little Aku	Mandinka	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Jola Foñi	Mandinka	Mandinka, Crioulo, Wolof, Jola Foñi	Mandinka, Jola Foñi, Wolof.	Mandinka
C4 L/Education	French	Arabic	French	French Arabic	Arabic French
C5 L/Religion	French	Arabic	French, Jola Foñi, Crioulo	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Crioulo, Wolof, Jola Kasa.	Mandinka, Jola Foñi, Wolof (Commerce).	Mandinka, Crioulo, Wolof, Jola Foñi.	Wolof (main market language) Mandinka, Crioulo, Jola Foñi, Jola Kasa.	Mandinka, Jola Foñi, Jola Kasa, Wolof, Crioulo
C7 WLs	French generally but, if not French-speaking, will use Jola Foni, Crioulo, Wolof or Mandinka.	Mandinka mainly, Jola Foñi occasionally.	French	French	Broadcasts mainly in French but also interviews in Mandinka, Wolof, Jola Foñi, Fula.
C8 OL1	French	very limited	French	French	French
C9 OL2	-	-	Has forgotten what learnt at school.	-	a little from school
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof with kin in Banjul, Mandinka or Jola Foñi on journey to Banjul.	Mandinka, occasionally a little Jola Foñi.	Some Aku with kin, Aku or Wolof with friends.	Mandinka with kin (no longer Jola Foñi speaking).	Wolof with kin; Wolof or Mandinka professionally.
Other					
E1 Comments	Learnt Mandinka when sent to school in Sédhiou.	Does not use Crioulo though speaks it fluently.	Mandinka more important than Wolof in Gambia & Casamance.	Learnt Wolof & Mandinka from traders in Baila.	Wolof became fluent through secondary education in St. Louis.
E2 Original migration	Father a Serer trader from Kahône, who settled at Karabane, married his cousin whose family had migrated to the Gambia.	Went to try working in the Gambia.	Grandfather an Aku carpenter who came to Karabane. Son settled & married there.	Great-grandfather migrated to Brikama & then Brufut to farm. Uncle went to Brikama for quranic education & stayed.	Younger brother of maternal grandmother migrated to Banjul.
	XX:1	XX:2	XX:3	XX:4	XX:5

Table XX: Casamançais families in contact with Gambian kin and affines: The use of the first language (HL1) as the Senegambian language of wider communication (S/G LWC).

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M30+	M60+	M50+	M20+	F50+
A2 Birthplace	Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor	Banjul, but when very young sent to Sédhiou	Diouloulou	Ziguinchor
A3 Education	Primary & secondary	Quranic	Quranic & secondary	Quranic, secondary, university	-
A4 Occupation	School teacher	Marabout & Imam	Law court official	Teacher	Restaurant & small hotel owner
A5 Residence	Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor	Velingara	Bignona	Ziguinchor
Senegambian Contact					
B1 Kin & Affines	✓ Cousins in Banjul	'Brothers' are Marabouts there; visits them and his own talibés.	✓ Kin & affines in Banjul, Bansang & Nibrass.	✓ Cousins in Banjul and Serrekunda.	Married in the Gambia for 9 years, daughter there.
B2 Occupation	-	-	Occasional extradition problem. Only 2 marriage cases last 10 yrs.	-	Visits & trades cloth once every two months.
B3 Religion	-	-	-	-	-
B6 Shopping	✓	-	✓	✓	✓
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Mandinka	Jola Foñi (Diouloulou)	Jola Foñi
C2 HL2	Crioulo, Jola Foñi	-	-	-	Wolof, Crioulo
C3 LWC (A2)	Mandinka (in Diouloulou where spent first 10 years).	Wolof, Mandinka, Jola Kasa	Mandinka (Sédhiou)	Jola Foñi, Mandinka, Wolof.	Wolof, Crioulo, Jola Foñi, Mandinka.
C4 L/Education	French	Arabic	Arabic, French	Arabic French	-
C5 L/Religion	French	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Mandinka, Crioulo, Jola Foñi.	Wolof, Mandinka, Jola Kasa	Fula (Fuladu)	Jola Foñi	Wolof (market) Crioulo, Jola Foñi, Mandinka
C7 WLs	French (with pupils), usually Mandinka or Wolof (with parents).	Arabic & Wolof (but can also use a little Fula or Jola Kasa with local inhabitants).	French (for records) but 95% business heard in Fula - only occasionally Mandinka or Serahuli.	French	Jola Foñi, Mandinka, Wolof, Crioulo, Fula (Fouta Djalon) a little French according to clients' HL1 and knowledge of OL.
C8 OL1	French	v. limited	French	French	a little
C9 OL2	-	-	-	a little	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof	Wolof mainly, Mandinka occasionally.	Mandinka mainly, occasionally Wolof.	Wolof or Jola Foñi.	Fula (Fouta Djalon) with family (B1). Mandinka, Wolof (B2).
Other					
E1 Comments	Although father Jola Foñi, Wolof & Crioulo more dominant in home.	Picked up a little French while in St. Louis, which uses on foreign travel.			Learnt fluent Mandinka & Fula while living in Banjul.
E2 Original migration	Grandfather came to the Gambia & Casamance area as a builder.		Father came to Gambia as a cook & married his mother (also of Casamance origin).	Cousins migrated from Karabane to find work.	Went to live with husband.

Table XX: Casamancais families in contact with Gambian kin and affines: The use of the first language (HL1) as the Senegambian language of wider communication (S/G LWC).

Background				
A1 Age & Sex	F60+	M40+	M40+	F40+
A2 Birthplace	Banjul	Sindian	Ziguinchor	Banjul
A3 Education	Primary	Primary &quranic	Quranic	Primary & vocational
A4 Occupation	Radio broadcaster	Petrol station manager	Cinema manager . Taxi business	Nun
A5 Residence	Ziguinchor	Bignona	Bignona	Ziguinchor
Senegambian Contact				
B1 Kin & Affines	✓ Banjul	✓ Sister & brothers went to Serrekunda	✓ Brikama	✓ Banjul
B2 Occupation	-	-	Used to have a bar for which sometimes employed Gambian bands.	Through vocational calling, went to train as a novice in Dakar.
B3 Religion	Became Muslim on marriage.	-	-	
B6 Shopping	✓	✓		-
Language Repertoire				
C1 HL1	Wolof	Jola, Foñi	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2	Aku (with step mother & grand-mother)	Mandinka	Mandinka	some Aku
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof, Mandinka, Aku	Jola Foñi	Wolof, Mandinka, Crioulo.	Wolof
C4 L/Education	English	French Arabic	Arabic	English, then French.
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	French
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof (market) Crioulo, Jola Foñi, Mandinka.	Jola Foñi mainly, Mandinka, Wolof.	Jola Foñi	Crioulo, Jola Foñi, Wolof.
C7 WLs	Does the Mandinka, Jola Foñi & Crioulo versions of a programme for housewives (written in French but explained to her in Wolof).	Jola Foñi, Mandinka, Wolof, occasionally French.	Jola Foñi, Mandinka, Wolof, Crioulo (according to language of client).	French, Jola Foñi, Crioulo.
C8 OL1	Some English primary.	French primary	Has picked up some French	Some English from primary.
C9 OL2	Understands a little but does not speak it.	-	-	French training.
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof or Aku (B1)	Jola Foñi (B1) Wolof (B6)	Wolof or Mandinka	Wolof, French
Other				
E1 Comments	Learnt Jola Foñi from domestic staff in Banjul, Mandinka from fruit & vegetable sellers & 5 years in Brikama.	Learnt a little Wolof in Bignona before becoming fluent in Dakar.	Picked up Jola Foñi in Bignona. Uses Crioulo in business contact with Guinea-Bissau.	Learnt Jola Foñi in Ziguinchor (not from parents), also Crioulo.
E2 Original migration	Came to get married. Grand-father a Manjaku from Guinea Bissau who migrated to Gambia & married her Aku grandfather.	Sister & brothers went to find work.	Brother went to trade in Brikama.	Parents Jola Foñi, from Casamance. Father worked as cook, mother as washgirl in an Aku family.

the Casamançais informants in contact with the Gambia, while recognising the importance of Wolof, put their common first language in primary position as the language used with kin across the border. Some informants referred to the significance of Mandinka in the Gambia as a whole, attributing its increasing importance in Banjul to its prestige as the ethnic mother tongue of President Jawara. The informants of non-Wolof origin associated Wolof above all with Northern Senegal, and related its commercial significance, in the market places of Bignona, Banjul and Ziguinchor, to the influential role of Northern traders throughout Senegambia.

5.1.5. Mandinka Workers in Dakar

The Mandinka in Table XXI left their Gambian village of origin to live in Dakar for the same reason as the Jola workers from the Foñi and Buluf areas of Casamance in Table XIX, who had also migrated in order to find work. Gambian Mandinka, Casamançais Jola and Guinean Manjaku and Mankañ migrants tend to search for casual employment in Northern urban centres, whereas the converse trend from Northern Senegal to the Gambia, as illustrated by Table XV (with migrant workers, generally from Wolof backgrounds, involved in a variety of market trades and occupations), reflects the enterprise of traders from the North in commerce throughout Senegambia. However, the Mandinka and the Jola differed from the informants in Table XV (who had all migrated with acquired skills in market trades, or previous commercial experience), in

that, in most cases, they had left their village of origin directly for Dakar or Banjul. Since they had only farmed prior to migration, they had therefore been prepared to take on any job that they could find in the town.

The Mandinka migrant workers in Table XXI therefore reflect a variety of employment (mason, carpenter, bana-bana,[1] driver, shop assistant, hospital orderly, messenger boy, etc.), but, like the Jola Foñi and Jola Buluf workers, the majority (12/24) had been in domestic service, working mainly for European families. Consequently, they had needed to communicate with their employers through a common official language, which for those interviewed emerged as English, despite the fact that few of them had spoken any English before coming to Dakar. Although some of the Jola Buluf and Foñi workers (Table XIX:C7) had found their French useful in similar employment in the Gambia, this had been previously acquired through attending primary school. The Mandinka, on the other hand, had been attracted initially towards English-speaking families (perhaps with the help of the British Consulate, which was responsible for Gambian citizens in Senegal until the Gambia became independent in 1965), with whom they subsequently learnt to communicate. None of the Gambian Mandinka in this study had had any formal education in English, apart from (3) informants who had been in the army (XXI:1,20,22). Since expatriate employers often help their domestic staff to find new employment among their friends, or successors,

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1. i.e. hawker or petty trader (W.).

when their posting ends, many of the Mandinka had continued working for Anglophone, rather than Francophone, families. Apart from (11) informants who had used English at some point in their domestic service, (2) others were using English as a working language in British Embassy employment (XXI:1,13), but only (5) of these claimed to have had any knowledge of English, or Krio (Aku), when they first started work in Senegal. It would therefore seem that, having succeeded in finding employment, these employees had made the effort to learn their employer's language (rather than vice versa), in order to give satisfaction, and thus remain in service.

The majority of the Jola Foni and Jola Buluf had had to learn a new language of wider communication once they had left their village to seek work in an urban environment, but, although the Mandinka all originated from areas where their first language predominated, more of them had previously come into contact with Wolof, as a second language, than had the Casamançais informants.[1] Nearly one third (7/24) of the Mandinka had acquired some fluency in Wolof prior to coming to Dakar, either through being brought up in close proximity to Wolof communities, or through working previously in Banjul. However, the Mandinka informants unanimously agreed that "Here it's Joloff country, but in Gambia it's Mandingo", with everyone considering a knowledge of Wolof to be essential for everyday life in Dakar. (11) of the Mandinka had had to learn Wolof on arriving in Dakar, while another (6) considered

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1. (5/16) informants had learnt a little Wolof before leaving the Casamance, see Table XIX, p.358.

that their Wolof had only become fluent through living in a predominantly Wolof environment.

This significance of Wolof is particularly evident in the linguistic repertoires of their children. Most of the Mandinka interviewed had their families living with them in the Dakar Medina, unlike the Wolof traders (Table XV), who often left their wives at the base where they regularly restocked in Senegal. The Mandinka differed from the Jola Foñi (who tended to remain alone because of the seasonal nature of their migration), in that they generally arranged for their families to come to Dakar once they had found employment. Although many of the Mandinka had returned to their village in the Gambia to find a wife, a few of them had chosen wives that they had met in Dakar. In the latter category, two cases of Mandinka workers marrying women of different ethnic origins had resulted in Wolof replacing Mandinka as the dominant home language (XXI:13,15). The remainder had all retained Mandinka, but, without exception, cited Wolof as their children's second language: "because it is the language they hear in the streets", or "because all their schoolmates speak it".

The new environment also affected the linguistic repertoires of these families in that the first generation were more familiar with the official language of Senegal, than of their father's country of origin. (14) informants referred to children who spoke French (XXI:D3), rather than English, through being sent to local schools. Only (4) Mandinka workers (XXI:1,3,17,19) had sent their children back to the Gambia to attend English-medium schools. The

option that the majority had chosen in favour of Senegalese education perhaps reflects prolonged periods of residence in their country of adoption. Half (12/24) of the sample could use French as a language of wider communication[1], but this, like their English arose from having worked in contact with Europeans. One final aspect of their migration to Dakar, apart from adopting the linguistic and educational practices of the community, was the option that a few of the Mandinka had made for Senegalese citizenship, in order to establish greater job security.

Despite these increasing Senegalese influences, the Gambian Mandinka in the Medina have retained a strong feeling of ethnic solidarity, and meet regularly to discuss political developments in the Gambia under the auspices of the Association of Gambian Workers in Dakar.[2] Most of them tended to see Mandinka from the same area of origin (such as Kiang, the Kombo or Baddibu side) during their free time, although not many of them were able to return often to their home village in the Gambia.

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1. (11/12) of the remainder spoke some French, i.e. fairly fluently, as opposed to a few phrases or lexes.

2. Despite the general image projected by this organisation, its mainly Mandinka membership appeared to identify closely with the People's Progressive Party (led by Sir Dawda Jawara) until 1975, when the political threat to the Government, presented by Mandinka supporters of S.M. Dibba and his National Convention Party, was hotly disputed at meetings in the Medina.

Table XXI: Mandinka Workers in Dakar Requiring Wolof as their Language of Wider Communication.

Background				
A1 Age & Sex	M50+	M70+	M60+	M40+
A2 Birthplace	Sukuto	Gidar (near Kuntaur)	Farafenni	Jialeh near Mansakonko
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Past & present occupations	Driver in Dakar for BOAC, Shell, & French building contractors. 1970 chauffeur at British embassy.	Sailor for short time before getting job as driver (Dakar/Bamako). Now at reception of Gambian High Commission.	First worked in Dakar as a chauffeur, then had a market bitig.	Learnt trade as a mechanic at Peyrissac, then as a chauffeur for Gambian High Commission.
A5 Residence	Dakar	Dakar	Has just retired to Farafenni after 27 years in Dakar.	Has just returned to Banjul after 25 years in Dakar.
Senegambian Contact				
B1 Kin & Affines	✓Kin and affines in Sukuto.	✓	✓	✓
B2 Occupation	v. occasionally has to drive to Banjul.	frequently returns on political business.	-	occasionally had to drive officials.
B3 Religion	✓	✓	✓	✓
B4 Education	Eldest son at school in Sukuto.	-	-	-
Language Repertoire				
C1 HL1	Mandinka	Mandinka (Jahanka)	Mandinka	Mandinka
C2 HL2	-	-	-	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Mandinka	Mandinka, a little Wolof & Fula.	Mandinka	Mandinka
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A3)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	English in Embassy with Europeans, Mandinka with Gambian friends & colleagues, Wolof or French with Senegalese officials.	Mandinka (or occasionally Wolof) with staff of High Commission; limited French with strangers.	Wolof mainly.	Wolof & a little French.
C8 OL1	English (from employers & British army)	very limited	-	-
C9 OL2	Some French in Dakar particularly in French company.	limited	a little	picked up some French working for Peyrissac.
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, Mandinka, some French	Mandinka, Wolof, limited French	Wolof, Mandinka, a little French	Wolof, Mandinka, some French
Children's Language Repertoire				
D1 HL1	Mandinka	Mandinka (Jahanka)	Mandinka	Mandinka
D2 HL2	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	but speak Wolof better
D3 L/Education	Apart from English-medium education for oldest boy, the others at French-medium schools.	Arabic (studying with Gambian Jahanka marabout in Dakar) & Senegalese French schools.	1 educated in English-medium school in the Gambia.	All at Senegalese French-medium schools.
Other				
E Reason given for migration	Came hoping to work passage on boat to England (1951) but got a job locally instead.	Came looking for work over 50 years ago.	Went to find work about 27 years ago.	Went to try his luck in Dakar because he had a brother there.
	XXI:1	XXI:2	XXI:3	XXI:4

Background				
A1 Age & Sex	M40+	M40+	M40+	M40+
A2 Birthplace	Batelling near Kiang	Koliar, Kiang central	Mandinari, Kombo	Illiassa
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Past & present occupations	Steward/Cook for different British families.	Cook/Steward for American families	Cook/Steward always with American or British families.	Mason
A5 Residence	Dakar	Dakar	Dakar	Dakar
Senegambian Contact				
B1 Kin & affines	✓ Visits kin in Kiang	✓Sometimes visits	✓Visits kin & affines	✓Visits kin
B2 Occupation	-	-	-	-
B3 Religion	✓	✓	✓	✓
B4 Education	-	1 child at school in Kiang	-	-
Language Repertoire				
C1 HL1	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka
C2 HL2	a little Wolof & Serahuli	-	a little Jola Foni (from parents)	Some Wolof
C3 LWC (A2)	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	English to employers, Wolof to working colleagues.	English to employers, Wolof to other staff.	English	Wolof
C8 OL1	English learnt through jobs	English learnt from employers.	English learnt from employers.	very little
C9 OL2	a little French vocabulary	v. little	Has picked up a few phrases	a little French
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, English, Mandinka	Wolof, Mandinka, English	Wolof, Mandinka, English	Wolof, Mandinka
Children's Language Repertoires				
D1 HL1	-	Mandinka	Mandinka	-
D2 HL2	-	Wolof	Wolof	-
D3 L/Education	-	Some at French-medium schools, one at quranic school, Kiang.	All at French-medium schools.	-
Other				
E Reason given for migration	Came to find work 15 years ago.	Came to look for work.	Came looking for work c. 15 years ago.	Economic
	XXI:5	XXI:6	XXI:7	XXI:8

Table XXI: Mandinka Workers in Dakar Requiring Wolof as their Language of Wider Communication

Background				
A1 Age & Sex	M 40+	M 70+	M40+	M20+
A2 Birthplace	Bansang	Kuntaur	Suarekunda	Kerewan
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Past & present occupations	Cook for English family, then for a Frenchman, then in a school. Last 6 months a messenger boy.	Cook -has worked for various British & Senegalese families.	Shop assistant in large wholesale store	Helped brother selling vegetables, then 3 months as houseboy, now selling eggs in the Medina.
A5 Residence	Dakar	Dakar	Dakar	Dakar
Senegambian Contact				
B1 Kin & Affines	✓ Sometimes visits kin	Used to vist from time to time but not since retirement.	✓ visits kin	Has not yet returned
B2 Occupation	Worked as a cook for English family in Banjul.	Worked in Banjul as cook first of all.	-	-
B3 Religion	✓	✓	✓	-
B4 Education	-	-	-	-
Language Repertoire				
C1 HL1	Mandinka	Mandinka (Jahanka)	Mandinka	Mandinka
C2 HL2	Fula, Wolof	-	-	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Mandinka, Fula, Wolof	Mandinka, Wolof	Mandinka, some Wolof	Mandinka
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	At present using Wolof & a little French.	English when worked for British families; Wolof in Senegalese families.	Wolof with other workers & Lebanese boss.	Wolof
C8 OL1	Learnt some English in Banjul.	Some English	v. limited	v. limited English
C9 OL2	Some French	very little French	French very limited.	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, Mandinka, a little French	Wolof, Mandinka	Mandinka, Wolof	Wolof, Mandinka
Children's Language Repertoires.				
D1 HL1	Mandinka	Mandinka (Jahanka)	Mandinka	-
D2 HL2	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	-
D3 L/Education	Children at local French-medium schools.	Children all educated at French-medium & quranic schools.	French-medium schools	-
Other				
E1 Reason given for migration	Came c. 20 years ago to find work.	Came with European boss (who was transferred by UAC to Dakar) c. 20 years ago.	Came to find work.	Came 2 years ago because brother already in Dakar.
	XXI:9	XXI:10	XXI:11	XXI:12

Table XXI: Mandinka Workers in Dakar Requiring Wolof as their Language of Wider Communication

Background				
A1 Age & Sex	M30+	M40+	M50+	M50+
A2 Birthplace	Kerewan	Aljamdu (Niumi)	Mandinari (Kombo)	Salikene
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Past & present occupations	Apprentice mason for 6 years; now messenger boy at British Embassy.	Marabout. Former Quranic teacher in government school, Banjul.	Worked for BOAC at Yundum & Yoff, then UTA; Now hospital orderly.	Worked 10 years for a catering firm at airport; Global Marine electrical assistant for a while; then houseboy for various Embassy families.
A5 Residence	Dakar	Dakar	Dakar	Dakar
Senegambian Contact				
B1 Kin & Affines	Goes to Kerewan on annual leave.	✓ Visits kin and talibés.	✓ Occasionally visits	✓ Visits kin & affines
B2 Occupation	-	✓	Previously worked at Yundum.	Worked as houseboy in Banjul.
B3 Religion	/	✓	-	✓
B4 Education	-		-	2 children at Quranic school in Salikene.
Language Repertoire				
C1 HL1	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka
C2 HL2	-	-	-	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	English to British people; Wolof or Mandinka to colleagues in Embassy; French when delivering messages.	Arabic, Wolof, Mandinka, a little Fula & Jola (Kombo).	Wolof to most of colleagues, French to European personnel.	A little French or English depending on employer; Wolof with other staff.
C8 OL1	English mainly through Embassy job.	A little English	English almost forgotten.	English from employer in Banjul.
C9 OL2	Some French	Some French	Had to learn French at UTA (French airline company).	Some French picked up at Tunisian Embassy.
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, French, Mandinka, English.	Mandinka, Wolof, Fula, Jola (Kombo).	Mandinka, French, Wolof.	Mandinka, Wolof, a little English & French.
Children's Language Repertoires				
D1 HL1	Wolof (Senegalese Soninke wife)	Mandinka	Wolof (wife from Mauretania)	Mandinka
D2 HL2	A little Mandinka	Krio (wife from Freetown)	-	Wolof
D3 L/Education	French-medium schools.	Children only Quranic education	All at French-medium schools.	3 children at French-medium schools but 2 at Quranic school in Gambia.
Other				
E1 Reason given for migration	Came to Dakar when 13 to join brother 21 years ago.	Came "to do business" 3 years ago.	Came to Dakar 1946 through BOAC.	Came in 1950 after many Europeans had left the Gambia leaving little domestic work.
	XXI:13	XXI:14	XXI:15	XXI:16

Table XXI: Mandinka Workers in Dakar Requiring Wolof as their Language of Wider Communication

Background				
A1 Age & Sex	M40+	M40+	M50+	M50+
A2 Birthplace	Salikene	Kerewan	Kerewan	Salikene
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Past & present occupations	Houseboy - mainly English-speaking families	Steward in various English-speaking families & one French family.	First a houseboy, now a cook (mainly English or American families)	Worked for French & British families as houseboy. Brief time on an American oil rig.
A5 Residence	Dakar	Dakar	Dakar	Dakar
Senegambian Contact				
B1 Kin & Affines	✓ children all in Salikene	✓ Visits kin & affines	✓ visits	Married daughter in Salikene
B2 Occupation	Worked as a houseboy in Banjul	Worked in Banjul previously	Worked for British army family, Banjul.	Worked at Yundum & in British army.
B3 Religion	✓	✓	✓	✓
B4 Education	Children all in Gambia	2 children at Quranic school	Children at English-medium school	-
Language Repertoire				
C1 HL1	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka
C2 HL2	-	-	-	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	English with employers, otherwise Wolof.	English or French with families, or else Wolof.	English with employers; Wolof with colleagues.	English with present British employer; Wolof to other staff.
C8 OL1	English learnt through job & 1 year in USA.	Some English	Some English from employers.	Learnt English working at Yundum & in British army.
C9 OL2	a little French	French (from 5 years with family)	a little French	some French learnt from a French employer.
C10 S/G LWC	Mandinka, Wolof, English	Mandinka, Wolof, English, French	Mandinka, Wolof, English, French	Wolof, English, Mandinka, French
Children's Language Repertoires				
D1 HL1	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka
D2 HL2	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
D3 L/Education	Children all at Quranic & English-medium schools.	Children only at Quranic school in Kerewan.	Now at government English-medium school in Kerewan.	Daughter did not go to school & others too young.
Other				
E1 Reason given for migration	Came to find work 20 years ago.	Came to Dakar 1945 with a British Air Force family.	Came to look for work in 1953.	Came c. 25 years ago looking for work when left army.
	XXI:17	XXI:18	XXI:19	XXI:20

Table XXI: Mandinka Workers in Dakar Requiring Wolof as their Language of Wider Communication

Background				
A1 Age & Sex	M40+	M50+	M60+	M30+
A2 Birthplace	Alcalikunda	Fofanakunda	Kunjoru near Saba	Saba
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic
A4 Past & present occupations	Houseboy for a European who took him to Mali & Guinea postings. Now works on lighting in Senegalese National Theatre.	Has always worked for English-speaking families; Present boss a German diplomat.	At present a carpenter working for a French boss.	Has worked since arrival for a French company.
A5 Residence	Dakar	Dakar	Dakar	Dakar
Senegambian Contact				
B1 Kin & Affines	✓ Visits kin in Baddibu	✓ Visits kin & affines	✓ Sometimes visits kin & affines	✓ Visits kin in Saba
B2 Occupation	Worked as houseboy in Banjul	-	-	-
B3 Religion	✓	✓	✓	✓
B4 Education	-	-	-	-
Language Repertoire				
C1 HL1	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka
C2 HL2	-	-	-	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	Wolof in current job.	English with employers; Wolof with other staff.	French with boss; Wolof with Senegalese workmates.	Wolof
C8 OL1	-	English learnt in army & from employers	-	-
C9 OL2	Some French from French boss	Not very fluent	Has picked up some French from various jobs.	Understands a little
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof, French, Mandinka	Wolof, English, Mandinka	Wolof, Mandinka, French	Wolof, Mandinka
Children's Language Repertoires				
D1 HL1	-	Mandinka	Mandinka	-
D2 HL2	-	Wolof	Wolof	-
D3 L/Education	-	French-medium schools	French-medium education	-
Other				
E1 Reason given for migration	Economic	Came looking for work in 1962.	Came before the war but returned to Gambia during period of difficulty in war time.	Came 9 years ago to search for work.
	XXI:21	XXI:22	XXI:23	XXI:24

Table XXI: Mandinka Workers in Dakar requiring Wolof as their Language of Wider Communication

A clear pattern of language usage thus emerged from the role-relationships that dominated specific locales associated with work and home domains.[1] English or French were used primarily for contact with European employers. Wolof emerged in all cases as the language of wider communication with Senegalese neighbours and colleagues, as well as being the main language used in the market and in quranic exegesis in the Mosque. Mandinka remained the dominant home language, and the language used with close friends. It was also used on visits to the Gambia, since all the informants returned primarily in order to see kin and affines and for family celebrations.

Conclusion

The skilled and unskilled migrant workers in this chapter had crossed the border in their search for employment or for a market for their particular trade or occupation. Different patterns of Senegambian migration have been illustrated, with contact retained for commercial reasons, or where it was possible to combine an occupation with returning to farm in their village of origin during the wet season. The migrants, for whom only family or religious contacts remained relevant, sometimes demonstrated greater evidence of a desire to integrate themselves into

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1. On Fishman's usage of this sociolinguistic terminology with reference to situational analysis, see 'The Relationship between Micro- and Macro- Sociolinguistics in the Study of Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When', La Linguistique, 1965, reprinted in Pride and Holmes (1974:20).

their town of adoption by sending their children to local schools, and by using the major lingue franche of the new speech community. In contrast, those whose migration was essentially seasonal, or temporary, tended to have left their families behind, or to send their children back to their home town or village for their education. The migrant's future prospects in his country of adoption, and whether he conceived of his migration as a temporary, or permanent, expedient, could thus determine his choice of education for his children.

Although the shift from seasonal or temporary migration to permanent residence could develop as a natural progression (or, in the case of some Mandinka migrant workers in Dakar, as an economic necessity arising from pressures to take out citizenship), it was more common in this section for migration to remain a temporary economic expedient. Indeed, closer identification with the 'nationist'[1] movement of the government of origin sometimes appeared to have arisen precisely through migration into the neighbouring state. The wider ideological dimension surrounding the concept of nationality seemed to have become more significant to the individual migrant through moving away from the immediate pressure of ethnic and kinship ties in the home village. The involvement of the Senegalese and Gambian

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1. Fishman uses this term to denote a developing nation-state in which the political-geographical momentum is in advance of socio-cultural integration (i.e. nationalism). See Fishman, J.A., 'Nationality-Nationalism and Nation-Nationism' in Fishman, Ferguson & Das Gupta, Language Problems of Developing Nations, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1968, pp.39-51.

governments in nurturing a feeling of solidarity among ~~its~~ their migrant workers was evident in 1974/5 from the interest in the respective High Commissions in monitoring the activities of the Association of Senegalese workers in the Gambia and the Association of Gambian workers in Dakar. In the case of Senegalese migrants to the Gambia, the association was not confined to the capital, but branches had recently been established in the major towns of Basse, Georgetown, Kaur, Kuntaur, and Brikama. The concern in these associations to register the names of their members, and to organise meetings that frequently focussed on political developments in the country of origin,[1] perhaps served to remind the individual of the 'temporary' nature of his migration, thereby checking the potential influence of integrative (and hence competitive 'nationist') pressures in the new speech community. The 'Senegalisation' of the Jola Foñi and Jola Buluf through migration northwards from Casamance presented a striking example of the development of this 'nationist' awareness. The Casamancais migrant appeared to become more self-conscious about his 'nationist' affiliations on moving to the urban centres of neighbouring Gambia, than through simply migrating to Northern Senegal. Such identification seemed to be accentuated in particular by the activities of the local branch of the Association of Senegalese Workers.[1]

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1. The Association of Gambian workers in Dakar and the Association des Ressortissants Sénegalais en Gambie may have been established ostensibly for mutual aid and the protection of migrant interests, but the political role of these organisations, in serving to enhance (rather than to potentially threaten) concern for national integration in the home country, cannot be ignored.

Language usage by these migrant groups tended to reflect the wide currency of Wolof among workers at this modest socio-economic level in major Senegambian towns. The significance of Wolof in commerce was constantly re-iterated, with all (193) informants citing Wolof as a working language. The majority of this sample considered Wolof to be more useful than any other lingua franca, even in areas where its speakers were not ethnically predominant. The movement of Jola Buluf and Jola Foni workers, and of Serer Niominka fishermen, from monolingual communities (in which only the ethnic home language was used), to the more heterogeneous ethnolinguistic communities that characterise Senegambian towns, illustrated the primary role of Wolof. (22) informants learnt this language through migrating to a Senegalese or Gambian commercial centre, while another (29) informants considered that their Wolof had improved through the experience of working across the border.

Although those who had gone to trade, or to find work in the interior of the Gambia, had used Wolof as a working language, several of them had found it advantageous to be able to use a local lingua franca to promote their business. In this respect, approximately one third of the sample had found varying degrees of fluency in Fula and Mandinka to be useful (See Table XXII).

The use and acquisition of official languages reflected situations in which these migrant workers had found work, which in some cases led to the use of a European language with their employer other than the official language of the country in which they were

working. For example, (13) of the Mandinka (Table XXI) were using English as a working language in Dakar, (8) of whom had acquired their knowledge of the language through contact with English-speaking families in Senegal.

Similarly, in the Gambia (6) of the Jola Foni and Buluf were using French as a working language, mainly through being in domestic service. Very few of the sample had had any formal education. Only (18) informants had been to French primary school, but (12) of these cases reflected the activity of the Catholic mission in Casamance (Table XIX). None of the Muslims in the Serer Niominka and the Mandinka studies had had any formal education, apart from (4) of the former and (3) of the latter who had learnt a little of their respective official languages through their military service.

The wide currency of French in Senegalese urban life was evident since the (50/169) informants understood some French prior to migration, that had been acquired in the context of the market place, rather than that of the classroom. The same phenomenon was evident among the Mandinka, who had migrated to Dakar, with (23/24) understanding a little French, (12) of whom were using this as a language of wider communication. On the other hand, apart from those who could shout greetings or count in the official language, only (29/169) migrant workers to the Gambia had acquired any knowledge of English, (9) of whom were fairly fluent.

This study has shown how the official language can emerge as a language of wider communication acquired through migration to a new speech community, without any

formal education. It has also shown how the use of the official language can influence commercial life a little, even at petty trading level, because of its significance in providing specialised vocabulary relating to products of Western origin, as well as presenting the medium of currency in usage. The most important finding in this section relates to the role of Wolof in the Senegambian context. Table XXII shows the role of Wolof with reference to the other languages used by Senegambian migrant workers. The unanimous admission that Wolof served as a language of wider communication for all these workers (despite its co-existence in some towns with other lingue franche) must demonstrate conclusively the importance of Wolof in Gambian, as well as Senegalese, commercial centres.

TABLE XXII - Temporary Migration between Senegal and the Gambia: Language Usage and Acquisition in Speech Communities across the Border (Summary of Tables XV - XXI).

i.	Usage of WOLOF in town of migration	193
ii.	Knowledge of WOLOF prior to migration	171
iii.	Improvement of WOLOF during migration	29
iv.	Acquisition of WOLOF during migration	22
v.	Acquisition of other languages during migration -	
	fluent MANDINKA	35
	slight MANDINKA	26
	fluent FULA	16
	slight FULA	38
	slight SERAHULI	4
	slight JOLA FOÑI	3
	slight KRIO (AKU)	13
	fluent ENGLISH	9/169
	slight ENGLISH	20/169
	fluent FRENCH	12/24
	slight FRENCH	11/24

N.B. These results are liable to over-simplification (or exaggeration), since they are based inevitably on the subjective assessments of those interviewed. The assessments only relate to oral fluency and aural comprehension.

CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE USAGE AND PERMANENT MIGRATION

Tables

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CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE USAGE AND PERMANENT MIGRATION

6. Permanent Migration

General Introduction to Senegambian village settlements and families

The Senegalese and Gambian village communities in this study have preserved their original founding links through frequent intermarriage that re-unite kin and affines for family celebrations. They illustrate the fundamental unity between Senegambian rural areas that transcends the boundaries established under colonial rule. Endogamous affinal ties between the inhabitants of these communities have helped to maintain linguistic unity, with the families interviewed communicating with their kin across the border in their ethnic mother tongue.

While the first part of this section concentrates on related Senegalese and Gambian villages, the second part describes certain families who have retained close kinship links, but whose first language habits were modified by their initial migration into areas of Senegambia subsequently divided by the imposition of the colonial boundary. The ethnic language of each patrilineage has gradually been replaced by the main lingua franca of the speech community in which the migrants have settled. This new first language has served as the medium of wider communication with kin who have settled on the other side of the border.

The effect of socio-cultural change on ethnic identity and language usage will therefore be described,

as the migrant families in this section settled permanently in localities subsequently divided by colonial rule. The antithesis between language maintenance and language shift, as observed in studies of the acculturative and linguistic pressures on minority immigrant groups in the United States,[1] appears to have some relevance to the migratory patterns of ethnic groups in the Senegambian context. This chapter will examine the way in which these migrant families from other parts of Senegal, Western Mali and Guinea, have either continued to uphold their ethnic traditions and mother tongues, or responded to the acculturative influences of the speech community into which they have migrated by eventually adopting the dominant lingua franca for home use. The process of Wolofisation, or Mandingisation emerges as ethnic first language loyalties alter. The language repertoires of collateral kin (who have subsequently found themselves separated by the boundary, or who have migrated into the neighbouring territory), will illustrate how far the original ethnic mother tongue, or the new

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1. See Haugen, E., The Norwegian language in America, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1953; Fishman, J., 'Language maintenance and language shift as fields of inquiry', Linguistics, IX, 1964, pp.32-70; 'Language maintenance and language shift as a field of inquiry: Revisited', (1968), reprinted in Language in sociocultural change, selected by A.S. Dil, Stanford University Press, 1972; Fishman, J. et alia, Language Loyalty in the United States, Mouton, The Hague, 1966. For a summary of 'minority group research' in America, see Haugen, E., 'Bilingualism, Language contact and Immigrant Languages in the United States: A Research Report 1956-1970' in Current Trends in Linguistics, Vol.X, Mouton, The Hague, 1973, p.561.

home language, serves as the Senegambian language of wider communication.

6.1. Senegambian Village Settlements.

6.1.1. Tukulor Villages in Saloum (S) and Jokadu (G). Introduction.

The Tukulor villages in the vicinity of Nioro du Rip and in the Jokadu district of the Gambia have retained close kinship ties, which are derived from their common origins in the Fouta Toro. The villages that now find themselves on the Senegalese side of the border preceded those that the colonial boundary established as being part of the British Protectorate of the Gambia. The first Tukulor migrants to the area settled initially in Eastern Saloum before spreading southwards as far as Kuntair in Jokadu.[1] Despite the distance of forty miles separating Kuntair from Kabakoto (the most north-easterly village), and their co-existence among Wolof, Mandinka and a few Serer settlements, these scattered Tukulor communities have preserved a sense of ethnic solidarity that has resulted in increased inter-village mobility during times of crisis, such as local warfare or epidemics. Endogamous marriages between the inhabitants of the main Tukulor villages: Dabali (S), Prokhane Peul (S), Kabakoto (S), Velingara-Oualo (S), Sarenalla (S) and Kuntair (G), have helped to maintain this intra-group solidarity.

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1. See Map C: To show movement between Tukulor villages in Sine Saloum during the nineteenth century, p.390.

The use of their common register of Fula (which they refer to as 'Pulaar Balwaalo') both symbolises and accentuates the unity between these villages. The residents identify themselves as Haalpulaar'en,[1] or even more specifically as Balwaalo-waalo, whereas the Tukulor (the actual inhabitants of Fouta Toro), consider some of them to be Jeerinkooße. They are generally classified by neighbouring ethnic groups as Tukulor, since they originate from the Fouta Toro area, and still speak a dialect of 'Pulaar': the variety of Fula spoken in the Fouta Toro. In this study, their first language will therefore be referred to as the 'Balwaalo register of Fula' that is spoken in Sine-Saloum.

The establishment of the first Tukulor villages in Saloum preceded the more recent immigration of the Wolof (Pélissier, 1966:478); but, whereas large scale Tukulor migrations to the area may have been precipitated by warfare elsewhere in Senegal, their scattered settlements subsequently attracted itinerant kinsmen from the Fouta Toro. However, the initial presence of the Tukulor around Ker Madiabel, Medina-Sabakh and the Rip was attributed by Abdou Boury Bâ[3] to two substantial migrations.

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1. i.e. those who speak Fula, denoting in this case the Tukulor who speak Fula as their first language.

2. The use of the terms jeeri and waalo could imply that the first migrants originated from both the jeeri (uplands) and the waalo (lowlands, subject to the alluvial silt of the River Senegal) in the Fouta Toro region (See Diop, A.B., 1965:35; Wane, 1969:22; Saint Martin, 1970:9).

3. Abdou Boury Bâ, Personal communication, Koussanar, 13.4.75. El Hadj Abdou Boury Bâ, an important local historian, is the son of Insa Bobo Bâ of Nioro and Penda Sall of Velingara-Oualo. He is at present Chef d'Arrondissement at Koussanar after a long career in Sine-Saloum local government.

One followed the overthrow and death of the Tukulor Muslim leader, Eli Bana,[1] by the gellwar, Mbeggan Ndour (who became the first Bur[2] Saloum); while the other resulted from the defeat and capture of the Almamy[3] Abdoul Kader Kane by the Damel of Cayor, Amari Ngone Ndela Coumba Fall, towards the end of the eighteenth century.[4] In both cases, the remnants of these Tukulor armies are believed to have fled to the outskirts of Saloum, where they either formed new farming communities, or joined existing ones, such as Dabali or Kabakoto. The Islamic aspect of this first migration has been re-iterated by Tamsir Ousmane Lana Bâ (1957:566), who identifies the Tukulor as the earliest Muslim communities in the Rip; whereas the second migration must have inspired the tooroɓɓe orientation of these Tukulor villages, which neighbouring ethnic groups still recognise.

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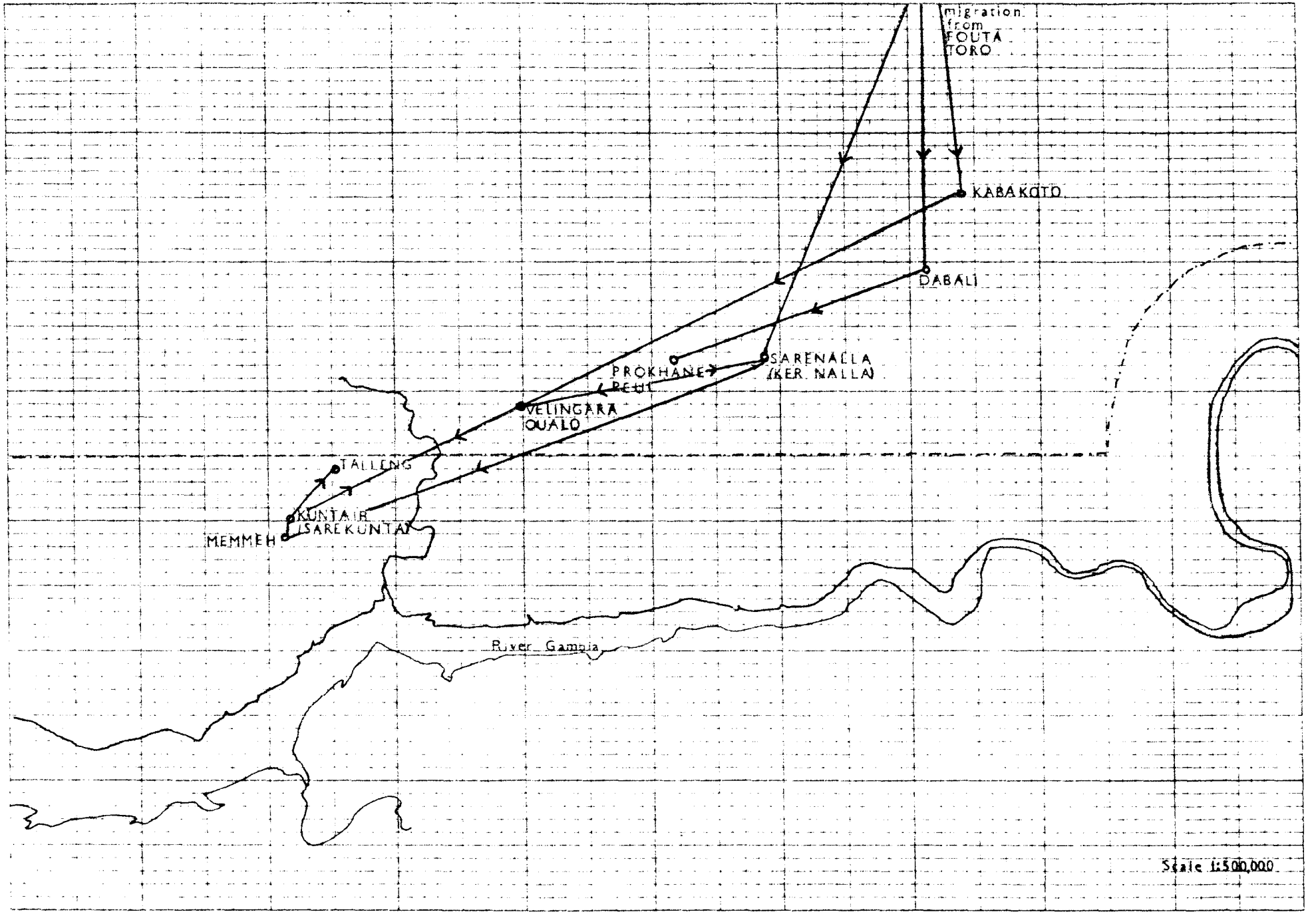
1. Abdou Boury Bâ (idem) and Bâ, T.O. (1957:566) use the same sources for referring to the first Tukulor in the area being "anciens compagnons d'Elibana", which places this migration towards the end of the fifteenth century (See Brigaud, 1964:36; Diop, A.S., 1972:7,28). Pélissier (1966:478) also found local informants who identified the founders of Dabali as "des vassaux d'Ely Bana" to substantiate its antiquity.
2. The rulers of the ancient kingdoms of Sine and Saloum held the title of Bur, whereas the ruler of Cayor was traditionally called the Damel.
3. The toorodɓe or tooroɓɓe were the Tukulor caste of noble clerics (see Wane, 1969:34) who led the revolution against the Deniankooɓe Fulɓe in 1776, and whose function as the spiritual and secular élite evolved in the subsequent confederation of the Fouta Toro, with Abdoul Kader as the first Almamy (political and religious leader), 1778-1808 (idem, pp.11-12).
4. The second migration occurred after the defeat at Bonghoye in 1798 of the Almamy Abdoul Kader in the holy war (jihād) that he undertook in Cayor. On this temporary setback to his activities, see Brigaud (1964:10); Wane (1969:13); Barry (1972:228).



Map C - To show movement between Tukulor villages in Sine Saloum during the nineteenth century.

Some controversy arose over the relative antiquity of these villages, although Kabakoto, Dabali or Sarenalla tended to be cited as the oldest. Abdou Boury Bâ claimed that Kabakoto was the first Tukulor settlement in the area, but the actual head of this village, Djiby Bâ[1], considered Dabali to be the earliest foundation. Pélissier (1966:478) also found local informants who regarded Dabali as "la cellule-mère". However, although the heads of the villages of Kabakoto (S), Sarenalla (S), Talleng (G) and Kuntair (G) disagreed about the sequence in which Kabakoto, Dabali and Sarenalla were founded, they all affirmed that a member of the Diallo family from Kabakoto had established Velingara-Oualo (S) to the south-west (see Map C).

Senegambian contact

The primary reason given for founding other settlements arose (like the Soninke group of villages[2]) from the need for additional farming land as the inhabitants increased in number; but mobility between the villages appears to have occurred frequently for both temporary or permanent reasons. For example, a sleeping sickness epidemic in the 1880's was cited by Abdou Boury Bâ as causing the return to Velingara-Oualo (S) of a number of inhabitants, who had moved to Kuntair (G); whereas cattle from Velingara might be temporarily grazed in Jokadu (the

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1. Personal communication, Nioro du Rip, 26.1.76.
2. Section (6.1.2.).

district in which Kuntair is situated),[1] during a period of shortage,

Close contact has been retained between the Tukulor group of villages centred round Kuntair and the earlier settlements on the other side of the border. The particular affinity between Kuntair (G) (which is called 'Sarekunta' in Fula), and Sarenalla (S), was recognised by both Gambian and Senegalese informants, and can be attributed to the tradition citing Abou Seydi and Seydi Nalla as the two brothers who founded Sarenalla. Opinions differ as to whether Abou Seydi subsequently founded Sarekunta,[2] or whether Kunta Diallo (a kinsman of Abu Seydi and Seydi Nalla) left Sarenalla to found Sarekunta, on the original site near Memmeh in Jokadu.[3] The current Seyfu of the area, Alhaji Abu Khan, said that his grandfather, Momadu Raki Khan, moved to the present site when his father was a small boy, which must have been during the latter half of the nineteenth century. On the other

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1. The Travelling Commissioner's report for the North Bank Province in 1905 (ARG,60/2), comments that "the people are fairly prosperous, and have some cattle, most of it owned by the Fulas of Naio and Willingara...". Pélissier (1966:479) contrasts the Tukulor villages with the Wolof villages in Saloum in their emphasis on cattle raising.

2. According to Hamadi Yero, the Head of the village of Sarenalla (Personal communication, Sarenalla, 26.1.76), and Djiby Bâ, the Head of the village of Kabakoto (Personal communication, Nioro du Rip, 26.1.76).

3. According to Alhaji Dembo Ane and Alhaji Abu Khan (Personal communications, Talleng and Kuntair, 20.1.76). The Travelling Commissioner's Report for the Jokadu district, North Bank Province, Nos. 797/1930 & 725/1931(ARG, Historical records 77/5) narrates a similar version, quoting Nalla Khan, Abu Khan's father.

hand, Abdou Boury Bâ believes (according to information from his matrilineal kin in Velingara) that the inhabitants of this village, led by Kunta Coumba Dado, fled after Biram Cissé successfully attacked Velingara in 1885[1] and established the new settlement of Sarekunta (G). This version could refer to a supplementary large scale movement of people, who might have been more inclined to seek protection from kinsmen in another village, rather than to establish a new one. The upheavals in Sine Saloum during the second part of the nineteenth century involved these Tukulor tooroôbe settlements because of their religious allegiances. Ma Bâ's decisive meeting with Cheikh Omar took place at Kabakoto in 1850 (Bâ, T.O., 1957:572), with the warfare arising from his holy jihād directly involving both Dabali (Bâ, T.L., 1957:575)and Ker Nalla (the Wolof name for Sarenalla; see Bâ, T.L., 1957:578). In the leadership conflict between Mamour Ndary and Saït Maty Bâ,[2] a local chief, Biram Cissé of Kaymor, destroyed Saït Maty's tata at Velingara-Oualo (Chaudron, 1901:15), which may have instigated an exodus of the remaining inhabitants to Sarekunta (Kuntair). Abdou Boury Bâ said that many of them later returned (including his mother), after a sleeping sickness epidemic affected the village on the British side of the border.

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1. Personal communication, Abdou Boury Bâ, Koussanar, 13.4.75.
2. See section (6.2.1.).

Language usage in Senegambian contact

Kuntair is the main Tukulor centre in Jokadu, with surrounding villages like Talleng, founded by kin who have left the larger village in their search for more land for grazing and cultivation. Although those interviewed in Talleng and Kuntair considered Wolof to be their language of wider communication if they went to market in Kerewan (or, occasionally, Banjul), Fula ('Balwaalo') remained the dominant language of these villages (Table XXIII). The majority of the Tukulor population spoke some Wolof as a second language, since the Wolof were more numerous than the Mandinka in Jokadu (with only (6) Mandinka villages identified by Alhaji Abu Khan in his capacity as Seyfu for the district).

On the Senegalese side of the border, Kabakoto, Sarenalla and Velingara had speech communities similar to those of their kinsmen in Jokadu (Table XXIII). Fula ('Balwaalo') remained the main home language, with Wolof (rather than Mandinka) important both as a second language for the majority of the inhabitants, and as a first language for the Wolof families who had moved into these villages. Fula ('Balwaalo') had therefore been retained as the ethnic mother tongue, and hence the Senegambian language, used in contact with Gambian kin and affines. These Tukulor settlements thus illustrate the process of language maintenance that has survived where their communities have continued to be dominated by inhabitants sharing the same ethno-linguistic background.

The renewal of endogamous affinal ties between these

Table XXIII: The Role of Fula in Contact between Tukulor Village Settlements in Saloum (S) and Jokadu (G).

Background					
A1 Village	Sarrenalla (S)	Kabakoto (S)	Velingara-oualo (S)	Kuntair) (G) Sarrekunta)	Talleng (G)
A2 Foundation	Abdou Seydi & Nalla Seydi left Fouta Toro & founded Sarrekunta because needed land to farm.	Dembo Deye Bâ (a Tukulor trader from Fouta Toro) founded the village & became first Alcali.	Baba Diallo from Kabakoto founded Velingara in 1846. Needed land & first inhabitants included people from Sarrenalla.	Kunta Jallow (kinsman of Seydi brothers) founded the village near Memmeh but Momadu Raki Khan moved to present site c. 1885.	He left Kuntair c. 50 years ago to make a new farm and village grew up around it.
Senegambian Contact					
B1 Villages linked through origin	Sarrekunta (G) Kuntair	Velingara-oualo(S) Kuntair (G) Sarrenalla (S)	Kabakoto (S) Sarrenalla (S) Kuntair (G)	Sarrenalla (S) Velingara-oualo(S)	Kuntair (G) Sarrenalla (S)
B2 Links maintained	Intermarriage. Family celebrations. Recently went to Sarrekunta to greet Alcali on return from Mecca.	Affinal ties; family festivities.	Intermarriage, family festivities.	Affinal ties with Velingara; represent family festivities across the border. Quranic education.	Intermarriage, family festivities.
Language Repertoire of Speech Community					
C1 Main languages of village	Fula (Balwaalo)	Fula (Balwaalo)	Fula (Balwaalo)	Fula (Balwaalo)	Fula (Balwaalo)
C2 LF of village	Fula (Balwaalo)	Fula (Balwaalo) Wolof	Fula (Balwaalo)	Fula (Balwaalo)	Fula (Balwaalo)
C3 LF of nearest market town	Wolof (Nioro)	Wolof (Nioro)	Wolof (Nioro)	Wolof (Kerewan)	Wolof (Kerewan)
C4 S/G LWC	Fula (Balwaalo)	Fula (Balwaalo)	Fula (Balwaalo)	Fula (Balwaalo)	Fula (Balwaalo)
Authority of Informant					
F	Alcali of village.	Alcali of Kabakoto; Alhaji Dembo Ane of Talleng.	Elhadj Abdou Boury Ba (brought up in Velingara); Alcali of Kabakoto.	Seyfu & brother of present Alcali.	Alcali & founder of village.
	XXIII:1	XXIII:2	XXIII:3	XXIII:4	XXIII:5

Table XXIII: The Role of Fula in Contact between Tukulor Village Settlements in Saloum (S) and Jokadu (G)

Senegambian communities has also contributed to this linguistic unity, just as traditional religious affiliations re-affirm ethnic solidarity. For example, the particular combination of their Islamic and ethnolinguistic antecedents influenced Seyfu Abu Khan in his decision to send one of his sons to Velingara-Oualo (S) for his Quranic education. The boy studied there with a kinsman of tooroodo patrilineal descent before going on to learn from the reputable Tukulor marabout, El Hadj Ama Deme of Sokone (S). In general, each Tukulor community, whether Senegalese or Gambian, contributes to the ethnic solidarity of the group by being represented at family occasions relating to births, deaths, the return from Mecca, etc. The Fula language thus remained the essential link for expressing the ethnic solidarity evident among these rural communities, whose similar socio-cultural, religious and agricultural interests had not yet been undermined by French-medium and English-medium educational systems.

6.1.2. Soninke Villages in Haute Casamance (S) and the Upper River Division (G).

Introduction.

The Soninke group of villages in this study is located on the Upper River Division/Casamance border, and includes (5) Gambian villages (Gambissara, Numeyell, Alohungari, Dembakunda, Sabi) and (6) Senegalese villages (Lambettara, Madina Mari, Doubirou, Djidda Modoo, Sandaga, Dialaka). All of these settlements share a common history

of migration from Bondou (Sénégal Oriental and Western Mali) to the Upper River Division, and thence to the Casamance.[1] They demonstrate the same linguistic unity between rural communities that was evident among the Tukulor and Jola Buluf villages. This Senegambian unity is similarly maintained through close kinship ties entailing frequent socio-cultural contact. They differ from the Tukulor and the Jola Buluf in that the commercial interests, which characterise the Soninke, lead to the development of diverse linguistic repertoires among those who leave these villages to trade in large urban centres.[2] The Soninke are reputed for their enterprise and adaptability to long distance travel,[3] but, although their position close to the frontier inevitably involves some border commerce, those interviewed at village level were primarily engaged in farming. The establishment of these predominantly Soninke communities has ensured the continuing usage of their ethnic mother tongue both within, and between, related village communities on either side of the border.

The close connection between Gambissara, in the Fuladu East district of the Gambia, and Gambissara Lemoye, in the Kantora district of Senegal, was generally recognised by Soninke traders interviewed in Dakar, Banjul or Basse (G), but there was uncertainty about which of the two was the

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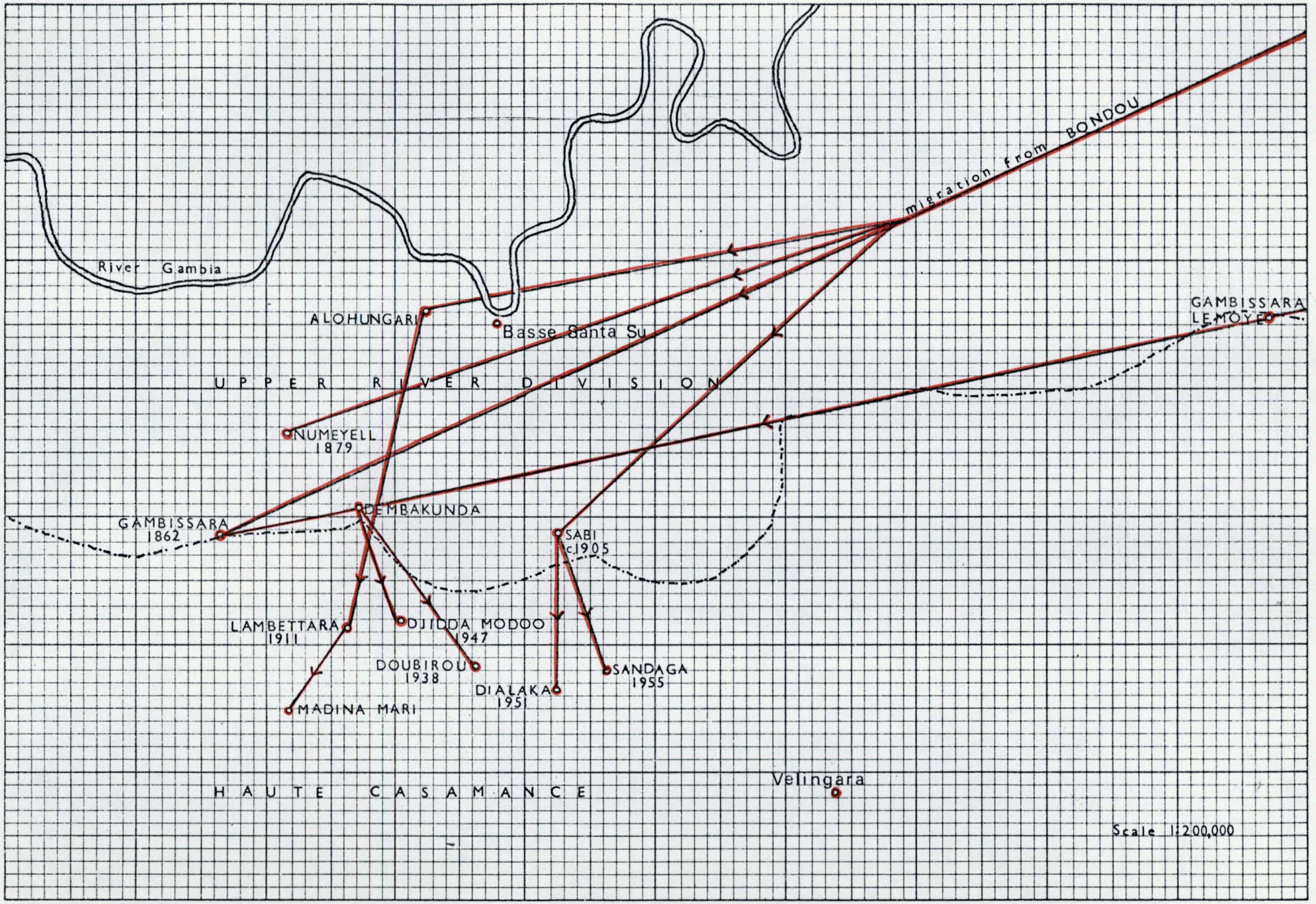
1. See Map D - To show the extension of Soninke farming communities from the Upper River Division (G) to Haute Casamance (S).
2. See Section (4.3.6.).
3. Ibid.



Map D - To show the extension of Soninke farming communities from the Upper River Division (G) to Haute Casamance (S).

oldest Soninke settlement in the area. Nevertheless, in Gambissara itself, the Alcali, Alhaji Momadu Dukuray, was adamant that Gambissara (Fuladu East) had been founded in the first place through the initiative of a Soninke called Jarga Hasseh, who had migrated from Bondou in 1862 in search of new farming land.[1] He said that some families subsequently left Gambissara at the beginning of this century and founded another Gambissara near Simoto creek in Kantora, but many of them returned to his village after a severe fire c. 1920.[2]

Although this version of the inter-relationship between the two Gambissaras was substantiated by some, but not all, the Soninke informants, it seems to tally with evidence in the official records relating to the Anglo-French mission for delimiting the boundary between the Upper River Division and Casamance, 1898/1899. A sketch map among the papers of the French mission, led by the colonial administrator, G. Adam, does not cite Gambissara Lemoye, but shows clearly how controversy arose over the other Gambissara, with one third of the village in French territory and two thirds on the British side. Both the French and British authorities considered this town to be important, with Adam writing that "Les Sarracolets de Gambissara, au nombre de 3000, rayonnent jusqu'au Soudan et au Fouta Djallon. Ils font presque tous le métier de

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1. Personal communication, Gambissara, 1.5.75.

2. This outbreak of fire, precipitating movement between the two villages, was also mentioned by El Hadj Bangaly Jagana of Doubirou (Personal communication, Doubirou, 23.4.75.).

dioula...".[1] He later reported to his superiors that "En effet, le Gouverneur de Bathurst attachait le plus grand prix à la possession de ce village, d'abord parce qu'il le savait considérable; ensuite, parce que, le possédant, il acquérait une réelle influence sur les villages environnants..."[2] The French were reluctant to cede the 460 huts attributed to their territory, and so it was decided to separate the two parts of the village, leaving the inhabitants with the option of choosing residence on either side of the border. Although Adam's expectation that this solution would work in the French interest did not materialise in this particular case, the Soninke continued to leave the centre to establish villages in both the Upper River Division and the Casamance, with a substantial migration recorded by the Travelling Commissioner in 1903: "The Gambissara people have made up their minds to move to Kantora and settle there, and have already commenced to make farms near the Simoto creek..."[3] A later report refers back to the movement of about 1,500 people from Gambissara to Kantora[4],

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1. ARS IF 22, 1897-1899, G.Adam, Président de la Mission française à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Afrique Occidentale à St. Louis, Lenguël, le 22 février, 1899.

2. Idem, G. Adam, Président de la Mission de Gambie à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Afrique Occidentale à Saint Louis, Saint Louis, le 25 mai, 1899.

3. ARG, 59/1A, Annual Report of the Travelling Commissioner, the Upper River Division, 2 July, 1903.

4. ARG, 77/1, The record of Fuladu East district of the Upper River Province together with a short history, Capt. P. Jeffs, Commissioner, URP, 6/4/33.

which would appear to confirm Alhaji Momadu Dukuray's account. The original Gambissara is therefore considered to be in Fuladu East on the Gambian side of the border, whereas Gambissara Lemoye is located in the Kantora district of Senegal.[1]

The influential role of Gambissara, that Monsieur Adam referred to in his report, could also have arisen from the tendency for Soninke migrants from Bondou and the Western Sudan to go initially to this centre, prior to farming in a neighbouring subsidiary village, or to establishing a new settlement. From Table XXIV, it can be seen that several informants identified Gambissara as the initial destination for their grandfathers on migrating to the Upper River Division.

Although it was re-iterated by most of the heads of the villages in this study that the main reason for originally migrating had been the search for new farming land, disputes with colonial or local authorities appear to have accentuated departures from Bondou. For example, El Hadj Malega of the Medina in Dakar referred to the movement westwards of the Soninke involved in Cheikou Momadou Lamine Drammé's jihād[2] (1885-1887), which caused a major increase in the Soninke population of the Upper River Division. Since the majority of the Soninke inhabitants of Guidimaka, Diafounou and Bondou joined

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1. Gambissara Lemoye also became the subject of controversy, but was established to be definitely on the Senegalese side of the border (See ARS,IF 26, 'Incidents de la Frontière, 1911').

2. Personal communication, the Medina, Dakar, 8.11.75.

Momadou Lamine's jihād (Rancon, 1894:45,46; Sabatié, n.d.,215; Ọlọruntimẹhin, 1971:89); his activities seriously challenged not only the authority of the Almamy of Bondou, but also French interests in the Sudan.[1] The decisive reaction of the French army to combat this threat to their position forced Momadou Lamine to leave Bondou for the Upper Gambia River region. The circumstances of his death at LaminKoto near Georgetown are controversial,[2] but it is likely to have resulted in the remainder of his following settling among the Soninke communities[3] under British jurisdiction, rather than returning to the potentially hostile situation of the new French Protectorate of Bondou.

Another incident that could have provoked a decision to search for new farming land was cited by Njonké Darbo, the griot public[4] of Velingara.[5] He narrated an argument between Saada Abdou Sy, the Chef de Canton at Koussang (Bondou), and Bouyagi Saho, the great marabout of Dioulangel, which was only resolved by Bouyagi's departure with many of his Soninke talibés for

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1. See Rancon (1894:46); Ọlọruntimẹhin (1971:84).

2. Sabatié (1925:228) and Brigaud (1964:55) believe that he was killed at Laminkoto, but Ọlọruntimẹhin (1971:106) found conflicting accounts about his death.

3. Particularly as their support for the jihād had already been domonstrated by using their commercial connections in the Gambia to help supply arms (see Oloruntimehin (1971:92)).

4. Njonké works as town crier for public occasions, as well as praise singer at family festivities. On the use of the term griot, see p.237,fn.3.

5. Personal communication, Velingara, 21 & 23.4.75.

Ségoukoura, near Tambacounda. Some of these families subsequently moved further west towards more fertile land near the River Gambia. The Imam and Alcali of Numeyell, Alhaji Bangaly Camara, thought that his grandfather, Fodé Momadou Lamine Camara, had left Bondou to avoid this palaver "which he saw coming",[1] but the disparity in dates between this dispute and the foundation of Numeyell (1879)[2] makes Fodé Camara's vocation as a grand marabout the more likely reason.

After settling in the Upper River region, local disputes over land and leadership have sometimes instigated further movement. The fraternal rivalry between Kasse Jagana (Koiya) and Kasse Jagana (Fingo) has been given as the reason why the former left Dembakunda (G) to live at Doubirou (S), but El Hadj Bangaly Jagana was anxious to rectify this version.[3] He pointed out that the main migratory factor was new farming land, since his father, Kasse Jagana (Koiya), did not leave Dembakunda until three years after the quarrel between himself and Njairu Krubally (the Seyfu at Kuobakunda), over the leadership of the village.

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1. Personal communication, Numeyell, 1.5.75.

2. i.e. Bondou did not become part of the French Protectorate until January 1887 (Sabatie, n.d.: 228), whereas the division of the territory into two cantons, with one based at Koussang, dates from 1905 (Brigaud, 1964: 55). Alternatively, either the date of the foundation of Numeyell, or the use of the term chef de canton, could be erroneous.

3. Personal communication, Doubirou, 23.4.75.

Senegambian contact

Patterns of movement between the villages in this study reflect the search for land for grazing and for cultivating millet and groundnuts. Once suitable land had been found in Casamance, it tended to be cultivated initially on a seasonal basis from the village of origin in the Upper River Division. This temporary mobility eventually entailed permanent migration, since, as their families increased in size, it became feasible to establish new compounds near their fields. Villages, like Doubirou Kasse and Madina Mari, developed in this way. It is also relevant to this agricultural interest that, apart from Lambettara, all the Soninke settlements in the Casamance had been founded during the last thirty years, concomitant to the expansion of the older parent villages in the Upper River Division. (6) informants referred to the seasonal movement of labour into the Senegalese Casamancais villages. The temporary nature of this occupational mobility is sustained through working alongside kinsmen, who are resident farmers, but returning to the Gambian village of origin across the border each night.

Apart from the predominantly agricultural orientation of the villages, informants on both sides of the border referred to kin who had gone via Banjul to do 'diamond work' in Sierra Leone, or who had trading interests in the capital cities of Senegal, the Gambia, Zaire, Liberia, the Ivory Coast or France. At a local level, their proximity to the border could enable kinship ties to be utilised for fostering 'traditional trade'; but all the informants

stressed that they were primarily concerned with farming, whereas their brothers, who had moved to the big market centres, were more involved in commerce.[1]

Language usage in Senegambian contact

Serahuli was the main lingua franca in these communities (Table XXIV), even in the one case (Madina Mari) where the Soninke compounds were in the minority, but Mandinka and Fula were identified as the languages for external contact. (3) Alcalolu thought that the wide currency of Fula in their villages had developed initially through the employment of Fulbe herdsmen for their cattle (XXIV:9,10,11), but representatives of all (6) Casamançais villages considered Fula (Fuladu dialect) to be the dominant language of the Firdhiou area, as well as being the main lingua franca of Velingara, the nearest market town. Mandinka was associated by the Senegalese informants with the Gambian side of the border. This was substantiated by their Gambian kinsmen who identified Mandinka, as well as Fula, as the main commercial languages in Basse, the chief centre of the Upper River Division. Wolof had a more limited currency, with (5) informants suggesting that only those who had gone to Northern Senegal, as traders or nawetans[2] would be familiar with this language (XXIV: 1,3,4,

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1. Pélissier (1966:543) considers the commercial interest to be the primary reason for the location of these Casamançais villages, but this was not substantiated by personal interviews with both Soninke and non-Soninke inhabitants of the district.

2. Nawetan (W.): seasonal agricultural worker.

Table XXIV: The Role of Serahuli in Contact between Soninke Village Settlements in the Upper River Division and Haute Casamance.

Background					
A1 Village	Gambissara (Fuladu East)	Numeyell (G)	Alohungari (G)	Lambettara (S)	Madina Mari (S)
A2 Foundation	Founded c. 1862 by Jarga Hasseh from Bondou. Inhabitants later founded Gambissara Lemoye. First Soninke village in area.	His grandfather Fodé Mohammed Lamine Camara came & founded village in 1879. Wanted to avoid a palaver that anticipated & to promote Islam.	Founded by Fodé Ansumanah Tonkara from Dioulangel c. 1900 - needed land to cultivate.	Founded by his grandfather Demba Kanja from Alohungari c. 1911.	Grandfather Boulaye Cissé left Nioro du Sahel (Mali) for Gambissara (G) then moved to Mansa Mina (S), Lambedu (S) & Kerévane (S). He & brother El Hadj Mari Cissé left for Lambettara to farm & eventually founded new village c. 1950.
Senegambian Contact					
B1 Villages linked through origins	Gambissara Lemoye founded c. 1904 but 16 years later a lot of inhabitants returned after outbreak of fire.	Kin from Numeyell founded Sambardé (S).	Demba Kanja from Alohungari founded Lambettara (S).	Alohungari Madina Mari	Kin in Gambissara, Lambettara, Dembakunda.
B2 Links maintained	Intermarriage with Soninke kin & affines in Doubirou & Madina Mari (S). A lot of Soninke send sons to Gambissara for Quranic education. People from Lambettara & Madina Mari attend Mosque on Fridays.	Kin & affines (often talibés) visit him.	Everyone in Lambettara has kin in Alohungari. They used to attend Mosque at Ramadan but not any more. Children from Lambettara & area as far as Mali & Bondou attend Al Haji Bahoreh Kaba's daara in Alohungari.	Kin & affines. Children in quranic school in Alohungari. Family festivities always include Gambian kinsmen from Alohungari, Dembakunda & Gambissara.	Family festivities with kin & affines. Sometimes goes to Mosque in Gambissara (Fuladu East) as nearer than Kembakunda. Some kin from Gambissara come and grow millet and groundnuts, returning home at night.
Language Repertoire of Speech Community					
C1 Main languages of village	Serahuli but most people also speak Mandinka & Fula.	82 Soninke compounds, 1 Mandinka, but Mandinka widely understood.	Serahuli	Serahuli, but also a few Fula-speaking (Fuladu & Tukulor) compounds.	3 Soninke compounds, 12 Fulbe (Fuladu), 1 Jahanka, 1 Wolof, 1 Tukulor but Serahuli dominates.
C2 LF of village	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli
C3 LF of nearest market town	Mandinka, Fula & Serahuli in Basse.	Mandinka in Velingara (S) or Basse (G).	Mandinka & Fula in Basse.	Fula (Velingara)	Fula (Fuladu) in Velingara (S)
C4 S/G LWC	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli
Authority of Informant					
F	Alcali	Alcali & Almamy	Leading trader in Basse originating from Alohungari.	Alcali	Brother of Alcali
	XXIV:1	XXIV:2	XXIV:3	XXIV:4	XXIV:5

Table XXIV: The Role of Serahuli in Contact between Soninke Village Settlements in the Upper River Division and Haute Casamance

Table XXIV: The role of Serahuli in Contact between Soninke Village Settlements in the Upper River Division and Haute Casamance.

Background						
A1 Village	Dembakunda (G)	Doubirou (S)	Djidda Modoo (S)	Sabi (G)	Sandaga (S)	Dialaka (S)
A2 Foundation	Father Kasse Jagana (Fingo) Uncle Kasse Jagana (Koiya) came with grandfather from Bondou to Gambissara(G). Gambissara Lemoye (S) & then Dembakunda founded by Kasse Jagana (Fingo). Needed land to farm.	Grandfather Fode Jagana came from Bondou c. 100 yrs ago to Gambissara (G) & then Gambissara Lemoye. Kasse Jagana (Koiya) founded Doubirou Kasse next to Doubirou Feul (2 yrs older) in 1938. Now one village.	Grandparents came from Bondou to Gambissara(G) Gambissara Lemoye(S) Dembakunda (G). Brother Momadu Tunkara founded village 1947 because needed land to cultivate.	Father Boundang Koro Sylla founded Sabi c. 1905. Grandfather had left Bondou for Gandiaye & Darsillami (S), from whence Koro founded Sabi for farming purposes.	Father Karamo Sylla left Sabi in 1955 because land more plentiful & fertile.	Father from Dialaka in Mali settled in Sabi (G). The informant left Sabi to found village in 1951. Came because land was better, accompanied by 3 families.
Senegambian Contact						
B1 Villages linked through origins	Kin & affines in Doubirou & Gambissara.	Dembakunda (G). Kasse Jagana (Fingo) stayed in Dembakunda. There had been a big argument between the 2 brothers but the need for more land the main reason for Koiya's move.	Dembakunda (G)	Sandaga (S) Dialaka (S)	Sabi (G)	Sabi (G)
B2 Links maintained	A lot of intermarriage with Doubirou people. c. 10 men go & farm around Djidda Modoo, Doubirou & Simbi (S) during wet season, returning home at night. A few children from these places come to Quranic school here.	Frequent intermarriage. Younger brother the Alcali of Dembakunda. If a lot of extra work (clearing scrub, etc.), kinsmen might come from Dembakunda to help.	A lot of men in Djidda Modoo have wives from Dembakunda. He often goes to the big Mosque in Dembakunda on Fridays because Imam is his brother-in-law.	Many youths go to fields around Sandaga, Doubirou & Dialaka during wet season. Kinsmen in these villages come to Mosque in Sabi.	Kin & affines in Sabi. Family festivities.	c. 8 kinsmen come during wet season to farm millet, cotton & groundnuts, returning to Sabi every night. Intermarriage & family festivities.
Language Repertoire of Speech Community						
C1 Main languages of village	62 Soninke compounds.	35 Soninke compounds, 4 Fulbe.	13 Soninke compounds.	c. 135 Soninke compounds, 3 Fulbe, 5 Mandinka compounds.	20 Soninke compounds.	18 Soninke compounds.
C2 LF of village	Serahuli	Serahuli (but everyone also speaks Fula Fuladu).	Serahuli but Mandinka & Fula also understood.	Serahuli but most people also speak Fula & Mandinka	Serahuli	Serahuli
C3 LF of nearest market town	Serahuli (Gambissara) Mandinka or Fula (Basse).	Fula Fuladu in Velingara.	Fula Fuladu in Velingara (S).	Fula, Mandinka & Serahuli in Basse.	Fula in Velingara (S).	Fula (Fuladu) in Velingara(S).
C4 S/G LWC	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli	Serahuli
Authority of Informant						
F	Alcali	Alcali	Brother of founder of Alcali	Alcali	Alcali	Alcali & founder of village.

7,9).

The comparatively recent foundation of the villages along the border in Casamance[1] has meant that family festivities in the village of origin naturally involved kin and affines from the Senegalese communities (and vice versa), with the ethnic mother tongue serving as the language of communication. Close ties with the parent village could also involve sending children back to the Gambia for their Quranic education with reputable marabouts, such as Bahoreh Kaba of Alohungari, or Bangaly Camara of Numeyell. Some informants crossed the border on Fridays to attend the Big Mosque, in which the usage of Arabic as the liturgical language, with Serahuli for the Imam's interpretation of the Qur'ān, underlined the religious and ethnic unity of the area.

6.1.3. Jola Buluf Villages in the Casamance (S) and the Kombo (G).

Villages in Kombo South with predominantly Jola Buluf populations, such as Berrending, Sifoe and Marakissa, reflect the migration northwards of people from the neighbouring Casamance region of Senegal.[2] The term Jola Buluf refers to the area in Casamance to the west of Bignona from which many of these migrants originate, but the dialects spoken within this area differ from community to community.

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1. See Map D.
2. cf. section (5.1.4.).

For example, a distinction is made in this study between 'Jola Essil' and 'Jola Diatok',[1] the two related dialects of the Jola language group that are spoken in Tionk Essil and Diatok, respectively. Like other communities in the area with Jola Buluf origins, the inhabitants of Berrending (G) have retained their ethnic solidarity with the Casamancais villages from which their forbears migrated. It was thus more common for them to refer to their parents' village of origin in Casamance when asked where they came from, rather than their current place of residence in Kombo South.

Alhaji Sana Sanyang, who has been Alcali[2] of Berrending since 1919, was born in Tionk Essil (S), where his father, Farmara Sanyang, farmed after leaving the neighbouring village of Diatok. Alhaji Sana Sanyang said that Farmara Sanyang crossed the border to visit Arfang Lang Kumba, a reputable Karoninka marabout who lived in

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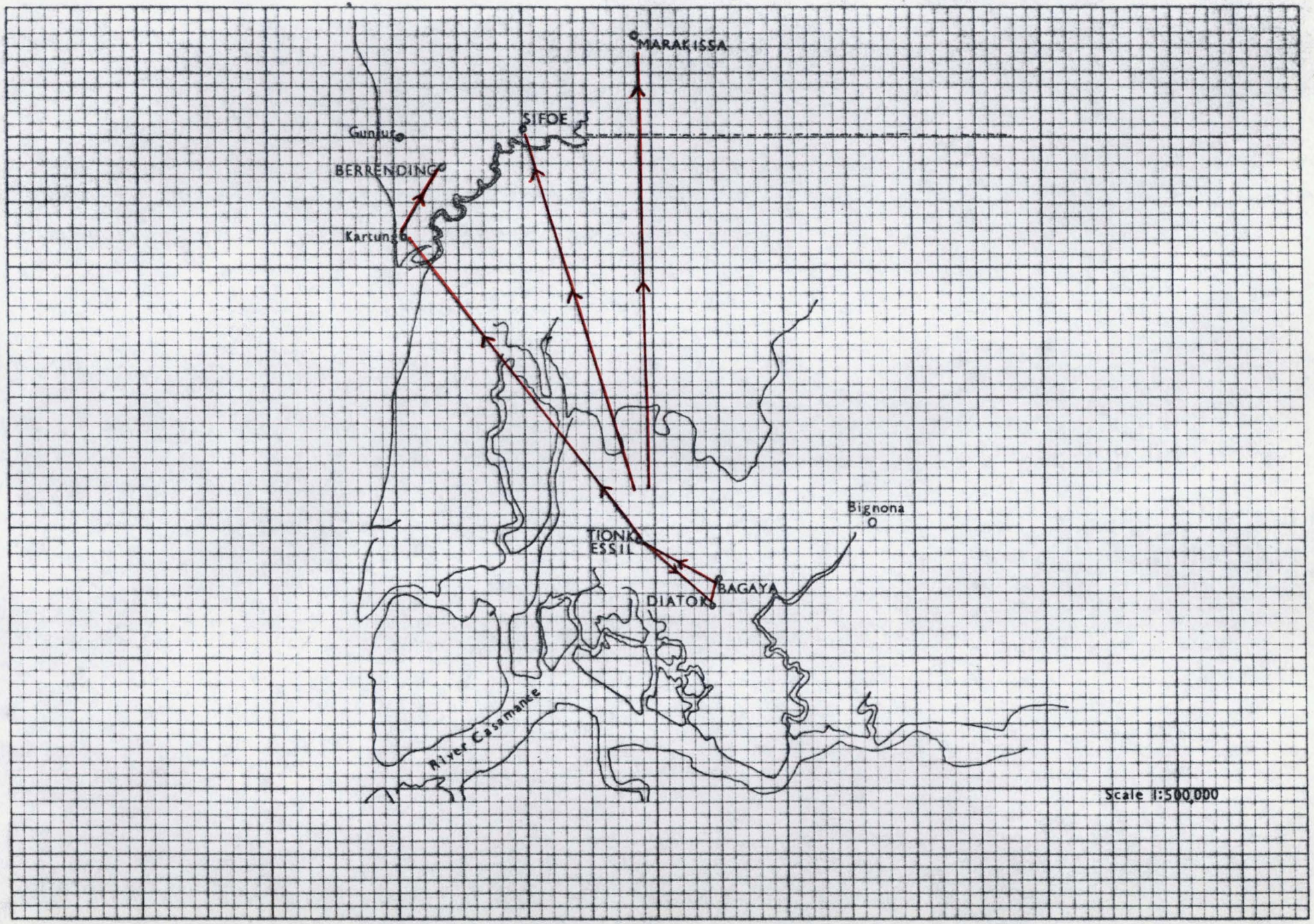
1. It was beyond the scope of this study to establish whether these dialects differ greatly, or whether the slight differences between 'Jola Essil' and 'Jola Diatok' make this merely a geographical distinction. Sapir (1971: 59) identified the language peculiar to Tionk Essil as 'Gusilay' which he regarded as close to, but separate from, the "Diola dialect-cluster". Since he does not identify 'Gusilay' as being spoken anywhere outside Tionk Essil, 'Jola Diatok' is likely to be a variety of Jola Buluf to which 'Gusilay' may be linked, but constitutes (according to Sapir) a separate language. Thomas (1959:508; 1960:490) mentioned close affinities between "le parler de Thionk-Essyl" and "le dialecte d'Essyl près de Brin" on the other side of the River Casamance. Like Sapir's observations, this could imply that a particular dialect or language can be identified in Tionk Essil.

2. Alcali and Seyfu are Mandinka terms whose wide usage in the Gambia has been recognised by the Government with reference to a village chief and a district leader, respectively.



Map E - To show the movement northwards of the Jola Buluf, including Farmara Sanyang's migration from Diatok (S) to Berrending (G).

Kartung (G).[1] Farmara hoped that the marabout would cure the stomach complaint from which he had been suffering, but he was obliged to stay in the neighbourhood for prolonged medical treatment. During this period in Kartung he built up a large herd of cattle, which led to disputes with the other inhabitants over grazing rights, and so he followed the advice of Tomani Jola (the Seyfu[2] of Gunjur (G)) and settled at a new site outside Kartung.[3] Another marabout suggested the name 'Kayraba' for the new village, from the Mandinka word kaira meaning peace (now that the quarrel at Kartung was over). However, the people of nearby Gunjur later changed the name to Berrending, because of the fine gravel that littered the ground around the village.[4]

Senegambian contact

Close kinship ties had been retained between the Jola Buluf in Berrending (G) and their relatives in Diatok (S) and Tionk Essil (S). Alhaji Sana's younger brother was farming the land in Diatok inherited from Farmara Sanyang, while Casamançais people occasionally entrusted cattle to their kin in Berrending for grazing (Table XXV:B1).

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1. This account of the foundation of Berrending results from a personal communication, Berrending, 30.9.75.

2. Alcali and Seyfu are Mandinka terms whose wide usage in the Gambia has been recognised by the Government with reference to a village chief and a district leader, respectively.

3. See Map E.

4. Ashrif, M.I. English/Mandinka Dictionary, Yundum, 1965, lists bero: gravel.

Family festivities necessitated the presence of representatives from collateral branches on both sides of the border. Since many of the second generation Jola Buluf in Kombo South still identified their place of origin as their father's village in the Casamance, they sent their sons back to the parent village for circumcision rites. The final ceremony would be attended by representatives of all the Gambian and Senegalese villages in which migrants from the original village had settled.

It was also customary to intermarry with families from linked villages. Alhaji Sana Sanyang had two Jola Buluf wives from the Kombo, whose families had originally migrated from Diatok and Tionk Essil. One of his sons, Arfang, was married to a woman from Bagaya (S), thus following the Jola Buluf custom of marrying the daughter of a maternal uncle.

Some of the families in Berrending were descended from those who came to seek medical help from Farmara, who in turn built up a reputation in this field. However, it was not unusual for kin and affines from the Casamance to use a need for free modern medicine from the dispensary in Gunjur (G) as a pretext for a visit.

While staying with kin in Berrending, Casamancais visitors might also consult a marabout in the village, since one of them had built up a following through living for many years on the other side of the border. Conversely, the Alcali thought that Berrending inhabitants would be more likely to refer to marabouts in Gunjur or Kartung, than in the Casamance, because there were several there with good reputations.

Background	
A1 Village	Berrending (G)
A2 Foundation	Father Farmara Sanyang came to Kartung for prolonged medical treatment & eventually founded the village to accommodate his kin & cattle.
Senegambian Contact	
B1 Villages linked through origins	Originated from Diatok (S) & Tionk Essil (S) in Casamance
B2 Links maintained	Family festivities, including marriage & circumcision ceremonies. Sometimes send cattle to them for grazing.
Language Repertoire of Speech Community	
C1 Main languages of village	Jola 'Tionk Essil', Karoninka, Manjaku & Mandinka.
C2 LF of village	Jola 'Tionk Essil' & Mandinka.
C3 LF of nearest market town	Mandinka (Gunjur)
C4 S/G LWC	Jola 'Tionk Essil' or Jola 'Diatok'
Authority of Informant	
F	Alcali

XXV:1

Table XXV: The Role of Jola 'Tionk Essil' & Jola 'Diatok' in Contact Between Berrending & the Casamançais Villages from Whence its Founder Originated.

Other families from Tionk Essil and Diatok had come to settle in Berrending, the most numerous being those speaking the 'Tionk Essil dialect' in their compounds (Table XXV). There were also some Karoninka, Mandinka and Manjaku families in the village, but Alhaji Sana Sanyang thought that most inhabitants understood 'Jola Essil', Karoninka and Mandinka through living in close contact with their neighbours. In communication with kin and affines in Diatok and Tionk Essil, the Sanyang family would use the 'Diatok' or 'Tionk Essil dialect of Jola', according to the origin of their interlocutor. In their compound in Berrending 'Jola Essil' (Alhaji Sana's first language) would be used, with Mandinka serving as a second home language. The Alcali stressed that the use of Mandinka, alongside 'Jola Essil' in his compound, arose from the presence of two Mandinka wives as well as the Jola Buluf ones; but its adoption probably reflected its significance as the major language of wider communication in the Kombo.

6.2. Senegambian Families

General Introduction

While the above three groups of villages have retained close links through the use of their ethnic mother tongues, the Senegambian families in the second part of this section illustrate the phenomenon of language shift through acquiring the lingua franca of the locality as their new first language.

Four of the families involved (the Bâ, the Touré, the Jammeh and the Kah) represent examples of the process of Wolofisation or Mandingisation, with language loyalties having altered in order that they might assume a prominent role as local political or religious leaders. The fifth family, the Jallow, illustrates the phenomenon of dialect shift, rather than language shift, since the Fula 'Balwaalo' dialect, spoken in Sine Saloum, has replaced their original ethnic mother tongue: Fula (Fouta Djalon). These changes in language loyalties followed the initial migration of each patrilineage from elsewhere in the region into the Sine Saloum area. In each case, integration into this new locality entailed adopting a dominant lingua franca, perhaps in order that the challenge made to the previous leadership might be more acceptable to the local inhabitants.

The subsequent separation of collateral branches of each family by the border reflects varying colonial, religious and agricultural interests. The Bah family in Banjul are the patrilineal descendants of Saït Maty Bâ, who sought asylum with the British, in 1887, after a power struggle with his Uncle Mamour Ndari Bâ brought him into conflict with the French campaign to establish their authority over Sine Saloum. During the subsequent pacification of the area, other chiefs, like Jatta Selang Jammeh and Nderi Kani Touré, were given a choice of residence in either territory, after the border was imposed across their lands. In the first case, this led to the maintenance of Illiassa as the seat of the Jammeh family in Gambian territory; whereas, in the second case, Nderi Kani left

his tata[1] at Kataba (C) in order to found Medina-Sabakh in Senegalese territory.

The Kah and the Jallow originated from Fouta Toro and Fouta Djalon, respectively, but the two families became closely associated through their adherence to Islam. This eventually resulted in them settling permanently in neighbouring Gambian villages, with the Kah being based at Medina-Bye-Mass from 1916 onwards, while Ker Cherno was founded by Cherno Omar Jallow about nine years later. Although religious affiliations had initially drawn these families together, one of the primary reasons for their migration to the Gambia was the search for land to cultivate.

Family histories have thus been closely associated with the development of rural communities. Collateral branches of the same patrilineal descent have been separated through migration across the border, but have nevertheless used kinship and religious ties to consolidate their common ethnic origins and language loyalties.

6.2.1. Senegambian families: The Bâ/Bah.

Introduction: Senegambian origins.

The significance of the Bâ patrilineage both as marabouts and as local government representatives arises initially from their migration to Sine Saloum. Their successful challenge to the traditional balance of power

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1. Mauny (1952:65) identifies this word for a fortification as being Wolof in origin, but Wane (1969:225) includes the term in his Fula glossary, considering this particular type of defensive construction to be characteristic of the Tukulor, Soninke and the Bambara. The remains of Mamour Ndari Bâ's tata were still evident in Nioro du Rip in 1975.

in Baddibu and Saloum through the propagation of Islam, forced the French authorities to take them into account in their establishment of the Protectorate over the area. Several members of the Bâ family consequently served as chefs de canton, while others continued their more traditional profession as marabout.

The religious leadership of the Bâ family reached its zenith under Ma Bâ Diakhou (c.1800-1867), whose holy jihād[1] disrupted Sine Saloum as local chiefs accepted or resisted his encroachments into their traditional spheres of influence.[2] The consequent warfare inevitably involved the French[3] and British colonial authorities, who not only exploited the interests of the different chiefs, but also interfered in rival factions within the Bâ family.

The upheaval in Sine Saloum, that had begun as a holy jihād, ironically resulted in the incorporation of leading members of Mamour Ndari Bâ's branch of Ndiogou Bâ's patrilineage into the system of local government imposed by the French after the peace settlement of May, 1887.[4]

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1. The Bâ family derive this spiritual inspiration to instigate the jihād from a meeting with Cheikh Omar Tall (See p. 206) at Kabakoto in 1850 (See Bâ, T.O., 'Essai Historique sur le Rip (Sénégal)', BIFAN, Vol. XIX, ser.B, Nos.3-4, 1957, p.572).

2. See Klein (1968:Ch.IV); Quinn (1972:Ch.V).

3. The political and religious influence that he commanded as Almamy in the Rip and Saloum was recognised by the French in 1864 (See Klein, 1968:83).

4. See Denisart, Lt. (1905:29) for details of the establishment of peace after 11 May, 1887.

However, the actions of Saït Maty Ba (Ma Bâ's son) in the leadership struggle that broke out between him and his uncle, Mamour Ndari, on Ma Bâ's death in 1867, brought him into conflict with the French. After Saït Maty had attacked the Bur Saloum Guedel Mbodj's residence near Kahône, the French retaliated because of its proximity to their military base in Kaolack. On being heavily defeated by these combined forces at Bantanding, 1887,[1] Saït Maty Bâ was obliged to seek refuge in the Gambia because of the enmity, both among local chiefs, and his kin and affines, that his aggressive campaign had caused.[2]

During his enforced exile in Bakau for the remaining ten years of his life, Saït Maty Bâ gradually established the authority that helped to make his son, Alhaji Wakka Fatou Bah,[3] and now his grandson, Alhaji Momadu Lamin Bah,[4] the Imam of Banjul. In Senegal, however, Mamour Ndari's agnatic descendants continuously occupied the post of chef de canton, based in Nioro,[5] until the system of local government was reformed after Independence. Ndiogou Ba (Elimane Mandiaye Ba's eldest

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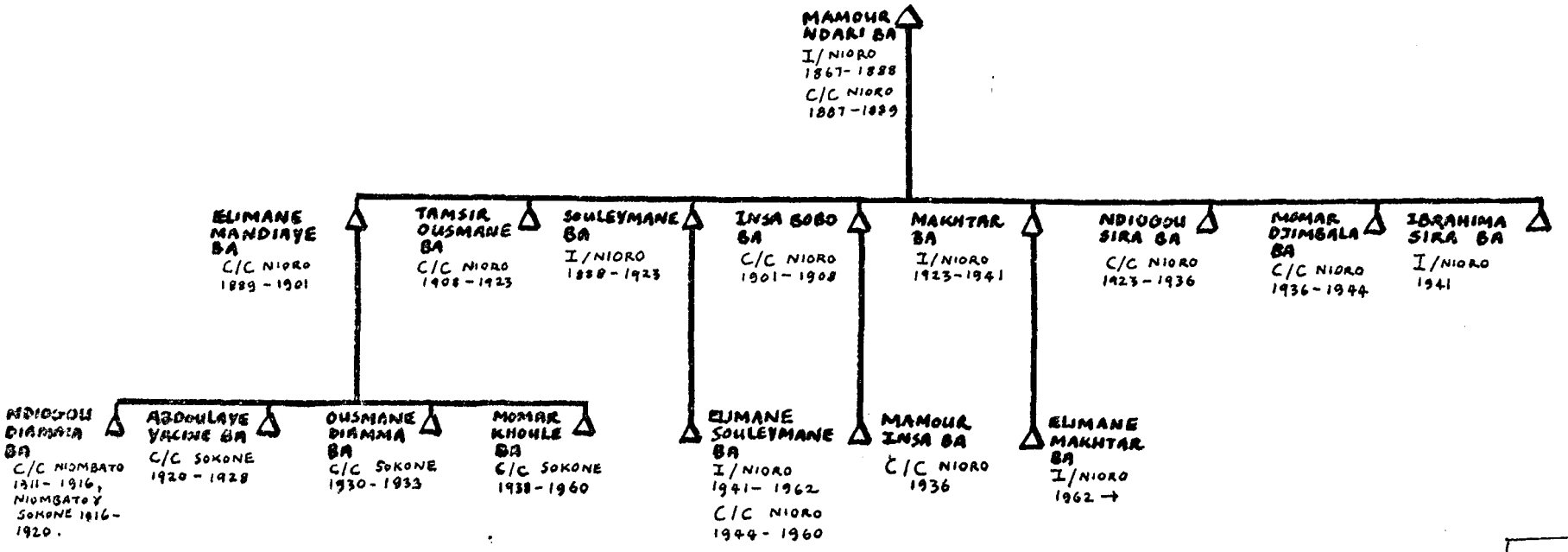
1. Personal communication, Abdou Boury Bâ, Koussanar, 13.4.75.
2. See Map F.
3. Alhaji Wakka was Almamy of Banjul 1922/3 (See ARG, 60/2, the Travelling Commissioner's reports on the North Bank province, Notes by N.M. Assheton (Administrative Officer) on Sedi Mati Ba, n.d.).
4. Alhaji Momadu Lamin was appointed deputy Imam in 1951, prior to becoming Almamy in 1953 (Personal communication, Banjul, 4.12.75).
5. See Diagram a.

Map F - To show the movements of the Bâ family in Sine Saloum and the Gambia leading to the establishment of the patrilineal descent of Ma Bâ Diakhou and Mamour Ndari Bâ at Nioro (S), Banjul (G) and Sokone (S).



KEY.

I - Imam.
C/C - Chef de Canton.

Diagram a - *Imams* and *Chefs de Canton* among the patrilineal descendants of Mamour Ndari Bâ, based in Nioro du Rip or Sokone (S).

Compiled with help from TAMSIR OUSMANE LANA BA (Dakar, 3.8.75); OUSMANE DIAMMA BA (Sokone, 10.8.75); ELIMANE MAKHTAR BA & OUMAR BA (Nioro, 11.10.75).

son) was sent to administer the canton of Sokone and Niombato in 1916,[1] which led to that branch of the family settling in Sokone, since the post was later held by three of his brothers.[2] Members of the Ba family also served in other cantons in the area, such as Ker Madiabel (Saboya), Nganda, Toubakouta and Koungheul, but their pre-eminence in Muslim leadership has continued with the last chef de canton of Nioro (1944-1960), Elimane Souleymane Bâ, following his grandfather Mamour Ndari's example by serving concurrently as Imam.

The leading position of branches of the Bâ family in Nioro, Sokone and Koungheul has been consolidated by their significance in local government but in the Gambia the agnatic descendants of Saït Maty have retained their traditional role as Islamic leaders. The family tensions and rival factions that instigated the migration of this branch across the border have been eclipsed by pride in their common spiritual heritage from Ma Bà Diakhou. In any case, at the beginning of Saït Maty's exile the return of his son by Diouka Seydi (a niece of Guedel Mbodj, the Bur Saloum), became a controversial issue between the British and French authorities. Abdou Boury Bâ (who is acknowledged by the rest of the family to be the leading authority on their history) said that Diouka Seydi was

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1. He was posted first to Missira/Niombato in 1911, but in 1916 he began administering Niombato and Sokone (Personal communication, Ousmane Diamma Bâ, Sokone, 10.8.75).

2. See Diagram a.

captured during the attack on Thiofat in 1869, and later forcibly married to Sait Maty Bâ, but the Bur Saloum demanded the return of his niece and her son Wakka Juka after she had been obliged to leave for the Gambia with her husband.[1] The British authorities allowed her to go back, but not Wakka Juka (Klein, 1968: 156), since his eligibility to be Guedel Mbodj's successor through his gellwar matrilineage[2] could have led to further unrest in Sine Saloum.

Senegambian contact

The division within the two collateral branches of the Bâ, that was accentuated by their residence under two different colonial jurisdictions, began to be healed when Wakka Juka was eventually allowed to visit his kin in the Bâ family at Sokone and in the Mbodj family at Thiofat. However, this occurred only after thirty years' exile, when the succession of the Bur Saloum was no longer a controversial issue. In Sokone, during a second visit in 1919, Ndiogou Diamma Bâ gave him his sister, Diakhou Diamma, as a wife, in a marriage that was intended to represent better relations within the Bâ family.[3] Diakhou's children, however, remained in Senegal, with one of them

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1. Personal communication, Abdou Boury Bâ, Koussanar, 13.4.75.

2. On gellwar matrilineal succession, and their significance in governing Sine, see section (3.1.4).

3. Personal communication from her brother, Ousmane Diamma Bâ, Sokone, 10.8.75.

attending the Ecole des Fils de Chefs in St. Louis, prior to becoming secretary and then chef de canton in the area where he had been brought up.

Other affinal ties[1] between the collateral descent of Saït Maty and Elimane Mandiaye Bâ have also helped to heal the rift between the Gambian and Senegalese sides of the family. Abdou Bâ, the son of Saït Maty Bâ and Yacine Kane, presents a second case of a member of the Bâ family whose destiny was affected by his father's military actions. After Saït Maty's decisive defeat at Bantanding, Abdou Bâ was captured by Guedel Mbodj and taken to Thiofat, near Kahône. When he was later freed by the Bur Saloum, his father Saït Maty Bâ directed that he should be sent to study the Qur'ān with the Diallo family (who had initiated him into the Tijāniyya).[2] Abdou thus studied in Ker Momadou Néné (S), Sobuldé (S) and Karang Wasso (S) with Cherno Omar, thereby continuing a spiritual link that has been currently preserved by one of Abdou's sons, Abdoulaye, with Cherno Baba Jallow.[3] Abdou eventually returned to Nioro and married Dié Maty Bâ, Elimane Mandiaye's daughter. One of his sons has followed the clerical tradition of the patrilineage by becoming Imam of the Little Mosque in Nioro, while another chose a cousin from the Imam of Banjul's family as his second wife.

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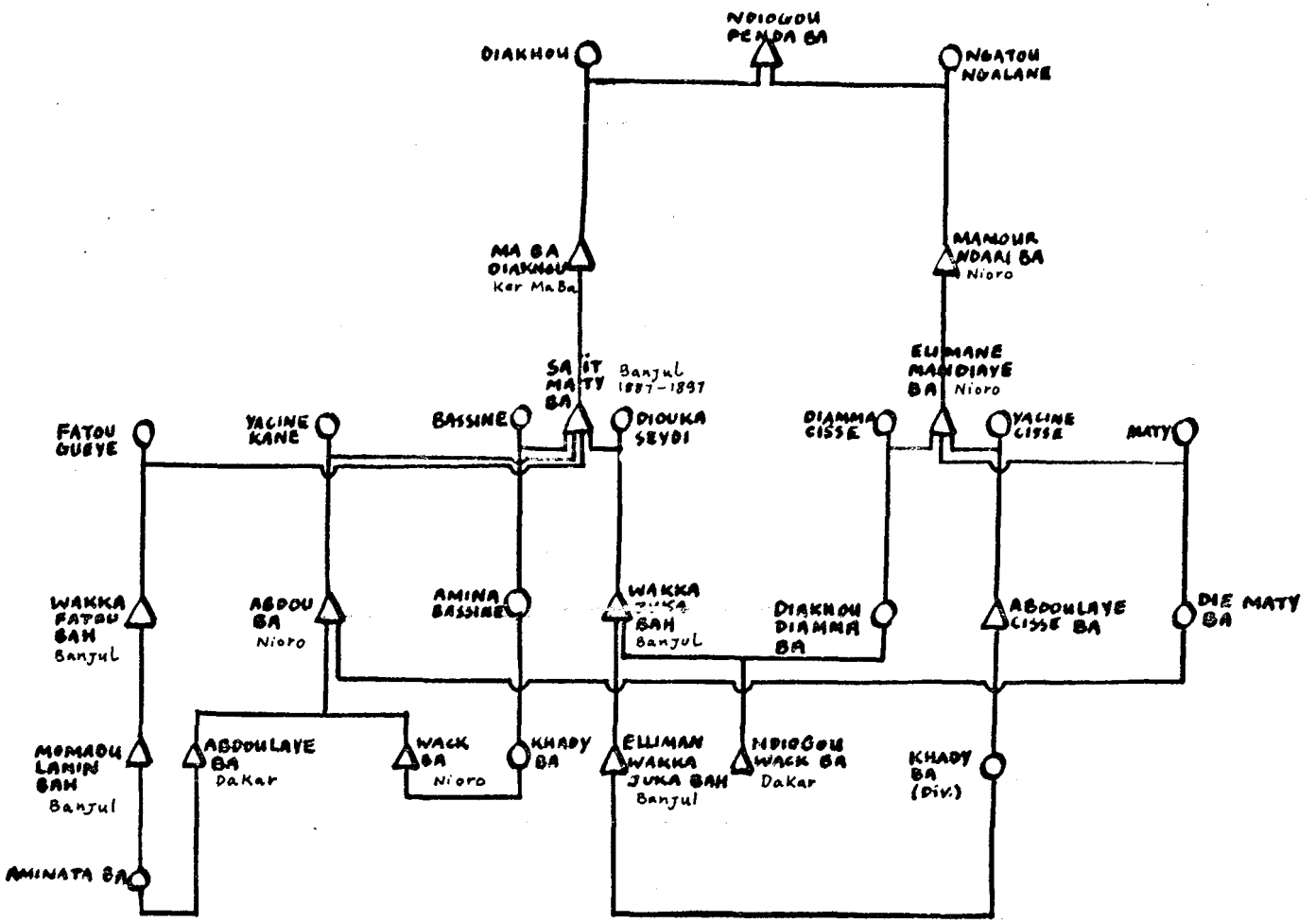
1. See Diagram b.
2. See section (6.2.4.), p. 464.
3. Personal communication, Abdoulaye Bâ, Grand Yoff, Dakar, 18.3.75 and 21.8.75.



Compiled with assistance from
TAMSIR OUSMANE LANA BA, Dakar, 18.3.75 to 7.4.75;
El Hadj ABDOULAYE INSA BA, Koussanar, 13.4.75;
ABDOULAYE BA, Grand Yoff, Dakar, 18.3.75;
NDIOGOU WACK BA, Dakar, 19.3.75;
ElHadj WACK BA, Nioro du Rip, 27.3.75;
Alhaji ELLIMAN WAKKA BAH, Banjul, 6.6.75.

Diagram b - Marriages within Ndiogou Penda Bâ's patrilineage.

Relations between different branches of the family have also been strengthened by the practice of entrusting children to kin or affines for their upbringing.[1] In some cases this has resulted in children born in one territory being brought up in the other. Wakka Juka's daughter, Mame Maty Bah, sent to live with her aunt Wack Diouka Mbodj in Ngotch (S).[2] Yata Cisse Ba, who is married to Elimane Bâ from Sokone, was born in Njau (G), where her father Omar Ceesay is the Seyfu, but she was educated in Senegal because she was brought up by her grandmother, Natou Touré Bâ, the wife of the Imam of Nioro, Elimane Fanta Bâ.[3] Doudou Bâ (Abdou Bâ's eldest son), was sent to the Mohammedan School, Banjul,[4] while he was living with the trader Cherno Jagne[5] (whose family was descended from Ma Bâ's mother Diakhou's first marriage to Massemba Diagne).

Male circumcision was another custom that reunited kin on both sides of the border. For example, Elliman Bah

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1. cf. p. 237 , fn. 2.

2. Personal communication, Alhaji Elliman Wakka Juka Bah, Banjul, 6.6.75.

3. Personal communication, Oumar Bâ, Nioro du Rip, 11.4.75, confirmed by Yata Cisse Bâ, Banjul, 7.6.75.

4. See p.8.

5. Personal communication, El Hadj Wack Bâ, Nioro du Rip, 26.3.75. Cherno had left Senegal as part of Saït Maty Bâ's following, and became a prosperous trader in Banjul. Alhaji Malleh Jagne (Personal communication, Banjul, 24.10.75) said that close contact is still retained between his family in Banjul and their kin in Ndiagne and Ker Saït Diakhou.(S).

(Alhaji Wakka Fatou's eldest son) was sent to Koutango (S) in 1923 for the initiation ceremonies[1] organised by Abdou Khoredia Bâ.[2] Although the custom of conducting circoncision as a family affair has since died out among the Bâ, it has been seen as a contributory factor to the healing of the rift between the branches of the family in the two territories.

The Bah, who settled in Banjul, have not been involved in local government like their Senegalese kin, but they have similarly tended to follow the traditional clerical role as Muslim teachers or judges. This has generally entailed going to Senegal to undertake advanced Islamic studies.[3]

Language usage

The process of Wolofisation within the Bâ family was an essential part of their determination to establish themselves in a prominent position in the predominantly Wolof-speaking communities that they were trying to convert to Islam. They originally belonged to the Denianke or Deniankoobe dynasty (Bâ, 1957:570) that dominated the Fouta Toro before the Toorobbe revolution of 1776. These

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1. On Wolof circoncision ceremonies, see Gamble (1967: pp.64,65).

2. Personal communication, Elliman Bah, Banjul, 18.6.75.

3. e.g. Momadu Lamin Bah, the Imam of Banjul, and Saifou Elliman Bah, the Qadi of the Muslim court at Kanifing.

Fulbe origins[1] were gradually submerged after Ma Bâ's grandfather, Mapathé Douloh (also known as Mapathé Bâ, or Hampathé Douloh), was outcast by his brothers on his conversion to Islam, and so left the Fouta Toro to live in the Djolof. He must have subsequently moved on to Sine Saloum, because his tomb at Ntoro Baien (G) was mentioned by two members from the Senegalese collateral branch, who had recited prayers in Arabic at the graveside; but it was his son, Ndiogou Penda, who first worked as a Quranic teacher in the Rip (Bâ, idem).

Marriages with Wolof women must also have influenced the increasing use of their language within Ndiogou Penda's compound, since both Diakhou Dièye (who gave birth to Ma Bâ, c.1809) and Ngatou Ngalane (the mother of Mamour Ndari) came from Wolof backgrounds. Tamsir Ousmane Lana Bâ (1957:571) has shown how Ma Bâ's Quranic studies in Cayor, and his marriage to Maty Ndiaye (the niece of the Bur), while teaching in his mother's area of origin (the Djolof), helped him to gain support from leaders like Lat Dior (the Damel of Cayor) for his jihād. Perhaps Ma Bâ's position with Wolof leaders was strengthened by signs of the increasing Wolofisation of the family that the links cited by Tamsir Ousmane Lana Bâ could have

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1. The subsequent role of Mapathé Douloh's patrilineage as propagators of Islam from Fouta Toro has led to them being identified as 'Tukulor', but it would perhaps be more accurate to use the classification 'Peul torodisés' (Wane, 1969:35) in order to cover both their Deniankoobe origins and their clerical vocation. On varying usages of the term 'Tukulor', see p. 308,fn.1.

accentuated.

Affinal ties with leading Wolof-speaking families in Sine Saloum reflected the increasing significance of the Ba family in the area, as well as contributing to their Wolofisation. Ma Bâ's reputation led to alliances with families who were impressed by the teaching that he gave to their children. Thus Andalla Boury of the Cissé family from Kaymor gave his daughter Yacine Koura to Ma Bâ as a wife, while entrusting his son Biram[1] to him for his Quranic education (Bâ, 1957:571). Nderi Kani Touré was sent by Sambou Oumané Touré to Ma Bâ for instruction, which subsequently influenced his close involvement with the jihād.[2] Five of Nderi Kani's children intermarried with the Bâ family, while his nephew, Nderi Yacine, married Elimane Mandiaye's daughter, Diarra Maty Bâ.[3] Such marriage alliances with leading local families not only enhanced the position of the Ba family in the Rip, but also reflected the significance of Wolof as a lingua franca, since the Cissé,[4] like the Touré,[5] were tending to speak Wolof as their first language during the latter half of the nineteenth century, despite their Manding origins.

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1. Biram Cissé was later married for a while to Ma Bâ's daughter, Aminata, until relations between the Bâ and the Cissé families became strained (see section (6.2.2), p.445; section (6.2.3), p.457).

2. See section (6.2.3.).

3. According to information from Oumar Bâ, Nioro, 11.4.75, and Tamsir Ousmane Lana Bâ, Dakar, 9.1.76.

4. This probability is discussed by Klein (1968:101, n.i.).

5. See section (6.2.3.), p. 455.

The point at which the usage of Wolof became more widespread than Fula in the homes of the Bâ family cannot be determined precisely, but Abdou Boury Bâ said that both Ma Bâ Diakhou and his brother Mamour Ndari spoke Fula and Wolof,[1] just as for the next generation both Makhtar Bâ[2] (a grandson of Mamour Ndari) and Mame Rok[3] (the only surviving grandchild of Ma Bâ) remembered that in their fathers' compounds Fula and Wolof were still spoken, but that Wolof was beginning to dominate. The Bulletins Individuels des Notes in the official records concerning those who served as chefs de canton lists the languages spoken by each member of the Ba family, with "Wolof and Tukulor" emerging most frequently, since it is the latter dialect of Fula that the family is likely to have retained from their Fouta Toro origins. Mamour Ndari's eldest son, Elimane Mandiaye Bâ, who succeeded him as Chef du Province du Rip dans le Cercle de Nioro (1889-1901), is listed as speaking "Ouolof, toucouleur, peul, mandingue, bambara, un peu de français", while reading and writing Arabic,[4] but, according to his son, Ousmane Diamma Bâ,[5] Wolof was the main home language.

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1. Personal communication, Koussanar, 13.4.75.
2. Personal communication, Nioro du Rip, 26.3.75.
3. Personal communication, Nioro du Rip, 11.4.75.
4. ARS,13G,53, Chefs Indigènes - Nioro: Bulletins Individuels des Notes, Gouvernement Général de l'A.O.F., Direction des Affaires Indigènes du Sénégal, Cercle de Nioro Rip, Juin 1901.
5. Personal communication, Sokone, 21.1.76.

From the examples cited by those interviewed, fluency in Fula increases when a member of the family has a Fula or Tukulor mother,[1] has studied with a marabout from a Fula-speaking background,[2] or has lived in close proximity to a Fula-speaking community.[3] Nevertheless all members of the Senegalese and Gambian branches of the family in this study stated Wolof to be their first language (Table XXVI:C1), with its usage now firmly established in their homes, as well as for wider communication with kin and affines throughout Senegambia.

The Wolofisation of the Bâ family could also have been influenced by working in local administration, where Wolof tended to be the language most frequently used in contact between the Senegalese personnel and the public. Wolof perhaps developed as the major working language in government offices (apart from the official use of French) as a result of the training that many of the employees would have received in the predominantly Wolof milieu of Saint Louis. The Bâ family's local status made them eligible for the Ecole des Fils de Chefs et des Interprètes, which opened in 1892 after the re-organisation

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1. e.g. Abdou Boury Bâ only spoke the Balwaalo dialect of Fula for the first six years of his life, because his mother, Penda Sall, sent him to be brought up by her family in the Tukulor village of Velingara-Oualo (Personal communication, Koussanar, 13.4.75).

2. e.g. Abdoulaye Bâ said that his father, Abdou, spoke Fula more fluently than Wolof through studying with Cherno Omar (Personal communication, Dakar, 21.8.75).

3. e.g. Tamsir Ousmane Lane Bâ said that he picked up the Balwaalo dialect of Fula through playing with children from the Tukulor quarter of Nioro, because he lived in Ibrahima Sira Bâ's daara on that side of town (Personal communication, Dakar, 7.4.75).

of the old Ecole des Otages that had been closed for twenty-one years.[1] The Ecole des Fils de Chefs was designed to improve relations with local chiefs and their families through the medium of the French language. Captain Aubert, in his speech at opening of the school, thus referred to Faidherbe's belief[2] that "lorsque tous les chefs du Sénégal parleraient et écriraient le français, la pacification et la conquête du pays seraient terminées..."[3]

The influence that the French authorities hoped to be able to exert on prospective chiefs through educating them was evident from the rest of the speech, and so it is appropriate to find this new Ecole des Fils de Chefs et des Interprètes supervised directly by Aubert, as Directeur des Affaires Politiques. Nevertheless the significance of Wolof as the lingua franca of Saint Louis was shown by the difficulty of getting the pupils to speak French, rather than Wolof, that R.J. Portes commented on. From his position as teacher responsible for the organisation of the curriculum at the school, he wanted to forbid the use of Wolof throughout the school year, but was aware that this would be hard to enforce "alors que tout le personnel indigène de l'établissement n'emploie que cet idiome".[4]

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1. See Bouche, D. (1975:Ch.VIII,pp.321-356).

2. Faidherbe had been responsible for the establishment of the original Ecole des Otages in 1856 (Bouche,D., 1975: 328); see also Chapter 1, p.31.

3. ARS, J7, Ecole des Fils de Chefs 1892-1903, Reouverture de l'Ecole des Otages, Discours de M. le Capitaine Aubert, Directeur des Affaires Politiques, p.10.

4. ARS, J7, Rapport sur le fonctionnement du Collège des Fils de Chefs et des Interprètes adressé à Monsieur le Directeur des Affaires Politiques par R.J. Portes.

At least (6) members of the Bâ family[1] attended the school until it was finally closed in 1948, with (3) of these later becoming chefs de canton, but, although Insa Bobo Bâ (the first member of the family to attend a French school), studied initially in Saint Louis, he continued his education at the Lycée d'Alger because the Ecole des Fils de Chefs was not functioning at that time. Insa Bobo distinguished himself by passing the first part of the Baccalauréat,[2] but, according to the French authorities, he was unsuccessful as chef de canton because of "l'influence néfaste de ses frères dont les mauvais et perfides conseils contrebalançent tous les efforts qui a parvient sur lui un contact permanent de huit années avec nos moeurs, notre civilisation, nos habitudes..."[3] Ironically his "failure as a chief"[4] arose because the French authorities were unaware of the limitations of their educational system as an assimilating process, in that, influenced by strong kinship and religious ties, Insa Bobo Bâ could not be expected to settle affairs in his home town without taking the opinions

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1. e.g. Abdou Boury Bâ, Ndiogou Alima Bâ, Tamsir Ousmane Lana Bâ, le Capitaine Elimane Bâ, Ndiogou Wack Bâ, Babacar Ndiogou Bâ. They were generally sent initially to work as secretary or assistant to a close relative who was serving as chef de canton, before being nominated to a similar position.

2. ARS, 3.198, M. Insa Bâ, instituteur, Rapport d'Inspection sur l'Ecole rurale des garçons de Nioro Rip (Cercle de Sine-Saloum) visitée les 27 & 28 avril, 1913, par M.E. Courcelle, Inspecteur de l'Enseignement au Sénégal.

3. ARS, I.C.756, M. Insa Bâ, Bulletin Individuel des Notes, Cercle de Nioro-Rip, Dec. 1901.

4. See Klein (1968:pp.212,213).

of his powerful elder brothers into account. The colonial administration eventually tried to gain the support of one of these 'bad influences' by replacing Insa as chef de canton by Tamsir Ousmane Bâ, thereby recognising that their interests would be better served by a chief having local status (both as a warrior and a marabout),[1] rather than a younger brother distinguished only for his primary and secondary French education.

The problem of finding chiefs literate in French gradually became more urgent, so that, in 1920, Lefilliatre (l'Administrateur en chef) recommended Ndiogou Sira Bâ to the Governor as chef de canton in succession to Tamsir Ousmane Bâ, with particular emphasis on the fact that he was the only surviving son of Mamour Ndari Bâ with this skill.[2] Once again the choice for chef de canton in Nioro depended on a member of the leading family who could fulfil a dual function, since, although Tamsir Ousmane Bâ could speak a little French, he had not been to the Ecole Primaire de Nioro like his brother Ndiogou. The latter had proved his usefulness to the French administration by serving as interpreter for several commandants de cercle,[3] in which his fluency in French was of primary importance, whereas

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1. ARS, 13G,67, Politique Musulmane - activité des Marabouts (1906-1917, Extrait du Registre confidentiel des Marabouts de la Résidence du Rip: Ousmane Bâ.

2. ARS, I.C.766, Lefilliatre, l'Administrateur en Chef, au Gouverneur du Senegal, Tivaouane, le 31 mars, 1920.

3. In particular in Bakel and Tivaouane, according to his son, Babacar Ndiogou Bâ, Dakar, 19.2.76.

his local influence as Qadi in Nioro was considered by Lefilliatre to be such that it would check movement across the border into the Gambia.[1]

Language usage in Senegambian contact

Whether members of the Bâ family visited Senegal or the Gambia for family festivities or for religious reasons, Wolof emerged in all cases as the main language of wider communication (Table XXVI). Even where French or English had been studied as the first foreign language (apart from the official language), its usage had developed through a particular occupation, and not as a result of staying with kin across the border. An informant who was involved in the administration of the craft markets of Senegal found the English he had learnt at secondary school useful in international meetings connected with tourism (XXVI:1). Some members of the Bâ family in the civil service (XXVI:2,3) also found their secondary school English useful with the occasional English-speaking visitor, but they re-iterated that Wolof had been used in their visits to the Gambia. Those involved with teaching had similarly not been inclined to try out their English when visiting the Gambia, even in the (2) extreme cases of a

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1. ARS, I.C.766, Lefilliatre, l'Administrateur en Chef, au Gouverneur du Sénégal, Tivaouane, le 31 mars, 1920. The migration across the border during this period was believed to have been accentuated by Nderi Yacine Touré's harsh administration of the neighbouring canton (ARS,I.C. 1698, l'Administrateur des Colonies commandant le cercle du Sine Saloum à Monsieur le Lieutenant-Gouverneur du Sénégal à Saint Louis, Kaolack, le 4 mars, 1921).

lecturer in English at the University of Dakar (XXVI:9), whose sister had married a marabout living in the Kombo,[1] and of a teacher posted to the Senegalese school in Banjul (XXVI:13), where French is the medium of instruction. (2) members of the Bâ family in Banjul (XXVI:10,11) had been inspired to learn a little French in their spare time,[2] while working for Maurel & Prom, because French was spoken by the management,[3] but this had not affected the habitual usage of their first language in contact with kin and affines in Senegal.

The Bâ who had had contact across the border through their religious affiliations used Arabic for liturgical purposes, such as saying prayers at the tombs of their forefathers (XXVI:6,17,19), or for studying the Qur'ān (XXVI:10,14,16,17). Those who had reached a higher level of Quranic studies with teachers living in the neighbouring territory had relied on Wolof for its translation, or for the study of specialised subjects like Islamic law (XXVI:10,11). (1) Senegalese informant, who was a talibé of Cherno Baba Jallow (XXVI:8), understood a little Fula, but had found that he could participate

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1. Although this marabout lived in a Mandinka-speaking community, Wolof served as the language of wider communication with his Senegalese affines.

2. Both of these informants had attended the Mohammedan School, which concentrated on English and Quranic studies at primary level, with no provision for French teaching.

3. See Chapter 4, section (4.3.2) p.231; p.241.

fully in the ziara at Sobulde or Ker Cherno Omar, because the marabout's discourse was always translated into Wolof.[1]

The (20) interviews recorded in Table XXVI show Wolof dominated the homes of the Bâ family. All the informants considered Wolof to be their main home language, and the language that they spoke most fluently, despite the (2) cases where another language served as the first language initially (XXVI:6,12). Both these cases arose from the custom of entrusting a child to a relative for part of its upbringing.[2] One informant (XXVI: 6) had spent the first six years of his childhood in the Tukulor milieu of Velingara-Oualo (S), but after going on to another relative's Wolof-speaking daara in Nioro, Wolof began to dominate the rest of his childhood, now serving as the main language spoken in his home. The other informant (XXVI:12) spoke 'Serer Saloum-Saloum' (Serer-Sine) and Mandinka at first, but was sent from Illiassa (G) to be brought up by her grandparents in Nioro (S), and subsequently considered Wolof to be her main language.[3]

The process of Wolofisation within the Bâ family has been difficult to trace with precision, but certain indicators in their family history have been described in order to explain the primary role of Wolof as a home language in all Senegalese and Gambian branches of Ndiogou Penda Bâ's patrilineal descent.

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1. See section (6.2.4), p.473.

2. Cf. p. 237, fn.2.

3. Particularly after her marriage into the Bâ family, which was atypical in that it represented union between the formerly rival Bà and Jammeh families (See section 6.2.2.)

Table XXVI: The Role of Wolof as the Dominant Home Language in the Ba/Bah family.

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M30+	M40+	M40+	M70+	M70+
A2 Birthplace	Sokone (S)	Koungheul (S)	Sokone (S)	Nioro du Rip (S)	Nioro du Rip (S)
A3 Education	Quranic & Lycée Faidherbe, St. Louis	Quranic (Ndiamel) secondary (St. Louis).	Quranic & secondary education	Quranic with father and uncles	Quranic within the family
A4 Occupation	Director of craft market	Regional governor	Post Office manager	Marabout & neighbourhood leader	Marabout/tailor
A5 Residence	Dakar	Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor	Nioro du Rip	Nioro du Rip
Senegambian Contact					
B1 Kin & Affines	✓ Bah family Banjul	✓Relations in the Bah & Saho families, Banjul.	Sometimes visits relations in Banjul on way to Sokone	Daughter married to a Marabout in the (G). Bah family Banjul.	Daughters married into Jallow family - Wife from Kuntair (G). Son married into same family.
B2 Occupation			✓A little contact	✓ occasionally	
B3 Religion				Visits other marabouts	Father & brother studied Qur'an with Jallow family.
B6 Other					
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2					
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic, French	Arabic, French	Arabic, French	Arabic & Wolof	Arabic, Wolof
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	French with civil servants, Wolof with craftsmen.	French for official business, Wolof for speeches in villages.	French, Wolof	Wolof, Arabic, a little French	Arabic, Wolof
C8 OL1	French	French	French	a little French	v. limited
C9 OL2	some English from secondary education.	English from secondary education.	a little English		
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1, B3)
E Other languages			Only greetings in Jola Foñi & Crioulo despite 12 years in Ziguinchor.	A little Mandinka, Fula & Bambara from nawetans.	
	XXVI:1	XXVI:2	XXVI:3	XXVI:4	XXVI:5

Table XXVI: The Role of Wolof as the Dominant Home Language in the Bâ/Bah family

Table XXVI: The Role of Wolof as the Dominant Home Language in the Ba/Fah Family.

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M60+	F50+	M40+	M30+	M50+
A2 Birthplace	Nioro du Rip	Koungheul (S)	Nioro du Rip	Nioro du Rip	Banjul
A3 Education	Quranic & Ecole des Fils de Chefs	A little quranic.	Quranic with father, Collège moderne de Thiès & Ecole Normale William Ponty	Quranic University	Mohammedan School, Banjul
A4 Occupation	Chef d'Arrondissement, former Chef de Canton	Housewife	Headmaster	English lecturer	Qadi of Muslim Court
A5 Residence	Koussanar	Ndofane (S)	Dakar	Dakar	Banjul
Senegambian Contact					
B1 Kin & Affines	Mother's family related to Khan family (Kuntair). Bah family (Banjul).	Saho family from Banjul	Second wife Imam of Banjul's daughter.	Sister married to a marabout (G)	✓ Cousins in Nioro
B2 Occupation					
B3 Religion	✓Went to pray at tombs of Sait Maty Bâ (Bakau), Mapathé Douloh (Ntoro Baien), & Gunjur		A talibé of Cherno Baba Jallow		✓ Spent 6 years in Uncle's daara in Nioro.
B4 Education					Studied Islamic law in St. Louis.
B6 Other					
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Fula (Balwaalo) first 6 years - Velingara Oualo	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2	Wolof	Fula			
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof, Fula	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic, French	Arabic	Arabic, French	Arabic, French	Arabic, Wolof, English.
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Fula, Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	Fula, Wolof, French.	Wolof	French	French, English	Arabic for judgments but most cases heard in Mandinka; occasionally Wolof or Fula.
C8 OL1	French		French	French	English
C9 OL2			a little English	English	Went to evening classes while working for Maurel & Prom.
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof (B1) Arabic (B3)	Wolof	Wolof (B1, B3)	Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1) Arabic (B4, B5)
E Other languages			Understands a little Fula (Balwaalo) from contact with Marabout.		Learnt Mandinka & Fula from trading up river.
	XXVI:6	XXVI:7	XXVI:8	XXVI:9	XXVI:10

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M60+	F50+	F20+	M70+	M50+
A2 Birthplace	Banjul	Illiassa (G)	Njau (G)	Banjul	Nioro du Rip (S)
A3 Education	Mohammedan School, Banjul	Some quranic	Lycée Gaston Berger Kaolack	Quranic	Quranic & secondary
A4 Occupation	Accountant	Housewife	Teacher	Imam Marabout	Law Court official
A5 Residence	Banjul	Nioro	Banjul	Banjul	Velingara (S)
Senegambian Contact					
B1 Kin & Affines	✓ 3 children by previous marriage to Khady Bâ brought up in Senegal	✓Mother from Bessane family of Nioro, father from Jammeh family of Illiassa	✓Brought up by grandparents in Nioro	✓Bâ family in Nioro. One Senegalese wife.	✓ Bâ family in Banjul
B2 Occupation				✓Talibés in Senegal	
B3 Religion				✓ Studied Qur'ān with marabouts in Koungheul, Kaolack & Tivaouane.	
B4 Education		✓Brought up by grandparents in Nioro & married into Ba family	✓ Educated in Senegal		
B6 Other					Goes to market in Basse (G) particularly when shortages.
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Wolof	Mandinka	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2		Serer Sine			
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Mandinka	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic, Wolof, English	Arabic	French	Arabic, Wolof.	French, Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Fula (Fuladu)
C7 WLs	English, Wolof, Mandinka, Fula, Aku.	Wolof	French, v. occasionally uses Wolof	Arabic, Wolof.	French, Fula (Fuladu).
C8 OL1	English	-	French	A little English	French
C9 OL2	Has studied a little on his own	-	a little English		
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof (B1)	Mandinka, Wolof (B1).	Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1,B3,B4,B5), Arabic (B4,B5)	Wolof (B1)
E Other languages	Learnt Mandinka & Fula & some Aku from working as an Inspector for Maurel & Prom.	Has learnt a little Fula (Bulwaalo)		Picked up a little English from other teachers while teaching at Mohammedan School.	
	XXVI:11	XXVI:12	XXVI:13	XXVI:14	XXVI:15

Table XXVI: The Role of Wolof as the Dominant Home Language in the Ba/Bah Family

Background					
A1 Age & Sex	M70+	M70+	M20+	M50+	M30+
A2 Birthplace	Njawara (G)	Nioro du Rip (S)	Nioro du Rip	Nioro du Rip	Nioro du Rip
A3 Education	Quranic Mohammedan School	Quranic (S & G)	Quranic with father, primary & secondary.	Quranic (uncle) Ecole des Fils de Chefs & Ecole Normale.	Quranic, Secondary
A4 Occupation	Retd. businessman	Marabout (former Chef de Canton)	Primary school teacher	Headmaster	Headmaster
A5 Residence	Banjul	Sokone	Dakar	Dakar	Dakar
Senegambian Contact					
B1 Kin & Affines	✓ Relations in Nioro	✓ One wife from (G). Sister married into Bah family (G) & he brought up their son.	✓ Wife from Khan family Kuntair.	✓ Bah family in Banjul	✓ Bah family in Banjul
B2 Occupation		Talibés (G)			
B3 Religion		Has prayed at tombs of Saït Maty Bâ & Mapathé Douloh		Has prayed at Sait Maty Bâ's tomb in Bakau (G)	
B4 Education	✓ Quranic education in Dakar before going to Mohammedan School.	✓ Quranic (G)			
Language Repertoire					
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2					
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic, English, Wolof.	Arabic, Wolof	Arabic, French	Arabic, French	Arabic, French
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	English, Wolof, Fula, Mandinka.	French & Wolof as Chef de Canton. Arabic & Wolof as marabout.	French. Wolof only used in extreme cases.	French	French, occasionally Wolof.
C8 OL1	English	French from military service.	French	French	French
C9 OL2					
C10 S/C LWC		Wolof (B1,B3,B5) Arabic (B4,B5)	Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1) Arabic (B4)	Wolof (B1)
E Other languages	Learnt Mandinka & Fula while a driver during groundnut season.	Bambara from military service.		Fula (Balwaalo) from living near Tukulor quarter of Nioro & from nawetans.	
	XXVI:16	XXVI:17	XXVI:18	XXVI:19	XXVI:20

Table XXVI: The Role of Wolof as the Dominant Home Language in the Bâ/Bah Family

6.2.2. Senegambian Families: The Jammeh/Bessane.

Introduction: Senegambian origins.

The Jammeh family of Illiassa illustrates, like the Touré of Medina-Sabakh and the Touray of Balanghar (6.2.3), how families traditionally holding chieftancies in the region have continued their role of leadership under colonial and national governments. The British and French authorities were determined to utilise local chiefs in establishing their territorial influence in Baddibu and Saloum, rather than to risk creating further unrest by ignoring them. The Jammeh family were in the same quandary as the Touray family when the colonial boundary was imposed across their land in Baddibu, but, unlike Nderi Kani Touré, Jatta Selang Jammeh chose to remain at his home in Illiassa, rather than to move to a neighbouring village in Senegal.[1]

The Jammeh family claim their ethno-linguistic origins to have been Serer, by citing their involvement in the 'migration of the Serer' from Kaabu.[2] Controversies surrounding the precise nature of this migration to Sine, and the origins of the Serer in relation to other ethnic groups (such as the Tukulor, the Mandinka and the Jola)[3],

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1. ARG, Historical records 77/5, Travelling Commissioner's Report, North Bank Province, Central Baddibu, R.W.Macklin, 8.9.33; Quinn (1972:185).

2. Personal communication, Sheriff Jammeh, Brikama, 17.12.75 & 29.1.76.

3. On the controversy over the migration of the Serer to Sine, and their consequent inter-relationship with other ethnic groups, see section (3.1.4).

have confused the ethnic history of the Jammeh. For example, if they were part of the gellwar (Manding warrior nobility) migration from Kaabu in the fourteenth century,[1] then they may have become Sererised on reaching Sine in order to establish their authority as the ruling dynasty in the area. Nevertheless the family is now considered to be Mandinka,[2] but retains close socio-cultural links with local Serer communities in Sine Saloum (S). Whether the family were 'Serer' before migrating from Kaabu, or whether they had ethno-linguistic links with the Mandinka initially, does not alter the implication that the process of Mandingisation occurred after their subsequent migration from Sine to Baddibu. Since the family identified as Serer during their period in Sine, and spoke Serer-Sine as their first language, they either became Mandingised, or reverted to their Manding origins,[3] after migrating to Baddibu. Their military strength enabled them to become one of the leading families from whom the Mansa Baddibu[4] was chosen on a

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1. See Gravrand (1961:22); Pélissier (1966:197).

2. Wolof-speaking informants in the area referred to the Jammeh as being Sose. This term is now widely used with this specific ethnic connotation by the Wolof in Sine Saloum and the Gambia. Its usage could be derived from the original connection between the inhabitants of Sine and Kaabu, assuming that the migrants from the latter were Sosseh/Mandinka (See Gravrand, 1961:20).

3. Oral sources collected and transcribed by Sékéné-Mody Cissoko and Kaoussou Sambou re-iterate the origins of the Jammeh from Manding, which could refer to the kingdom of Kaabu: being a Manding offshoot of the Mali Empire. See Recueil des Traditions Orales des Mandingues de Gambie et de Casamance, CRDTO, Niamey, 1974,p.1,26, 40,46,76.

4. Mansa is the Mandinka term for the ruling authority of the kingdom.

rotating basis.[1] The process of language shift occurred because their integration into the ruling hegemony in Baddibu necessitated their identification with the Mandinka, that historical links with Manding must have facilitated.

The authority of these leading 'soninke'[2] families was undermined by the holy jihād that Ma Bâ instigated in Sine Saloum, since the major towns in Western Baddibu rallied to his cause. These included towns, such as Suarekunda, Njabakunda, Salikene, Kerewan, Saba, Ker Maba and Nokunda, that surrounded the chief 'soninke' towns of Illiassa and India.[3] The Muslim inhabitants were the first to revolt against their Mandinka rulers, who tried in vain to resist this challenge to their authority. With the death of the head of the Jammeh family, Yira Massang, followed by Ma Bâ's fatal defeat of the current Mansa, Jereba Marone, in 1861; the hegemony of the Mandinka families was effectively broken. The remnants of the 'soninke' army were obliged to flee, since Ma Bâ, from his new base in Nioro du Rip,[4] controlled the whole of Baddibu

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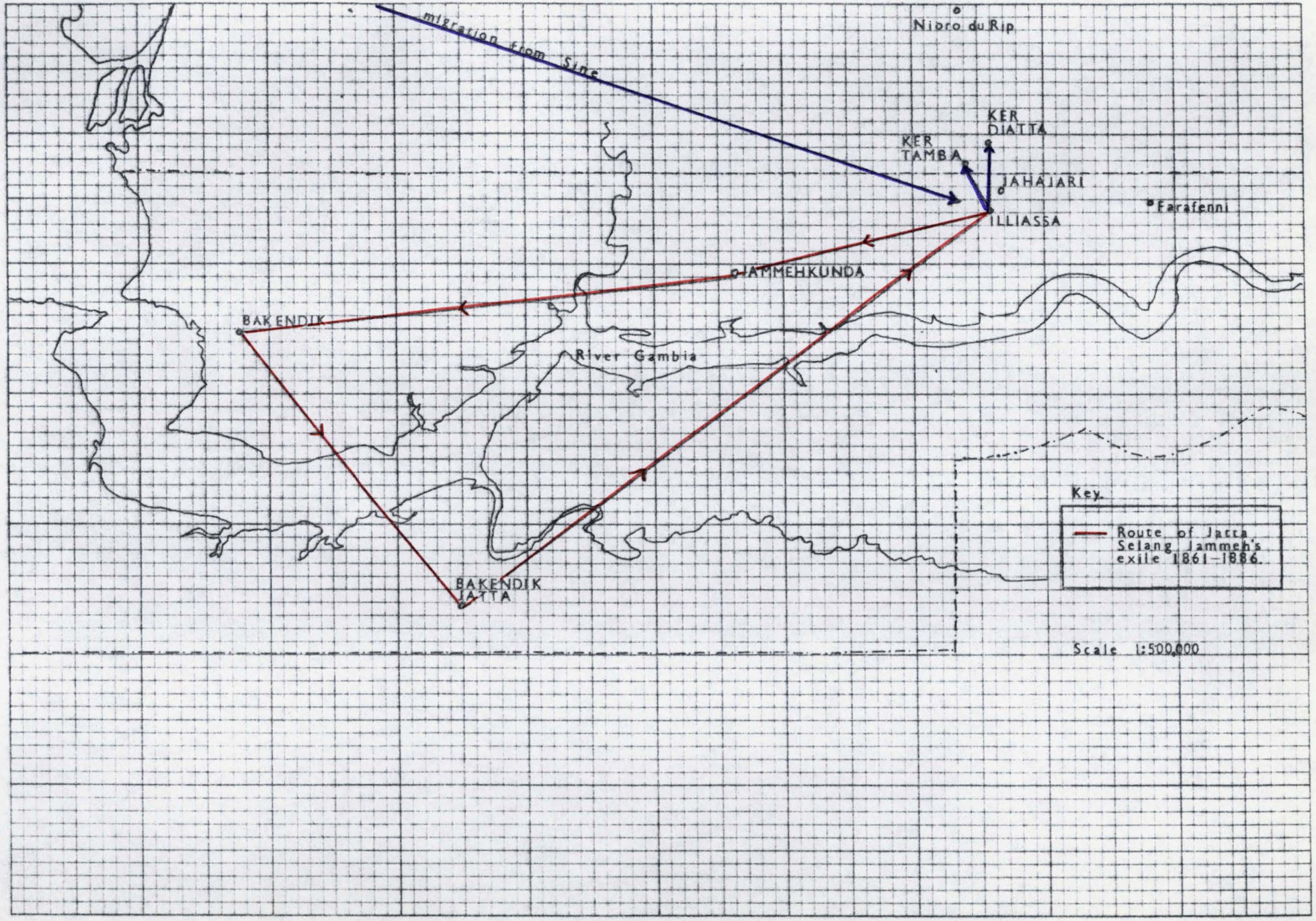
1. See Tamsir Ousmane Lana Bâ (1957:567), and oral traditions narrated by Mama Tamba Jammeh of Illiassa (the former Seyfu of Upper Baddibu) and Lamine Marone (the Alcali of India) for documentation by Cissoko, S-M. & Sambou, K., op.cit., p.52 & p.82.

2. Quinn (1972:53) refers to the contrasting use of the terms 'soninke' and 'marabout' as "the most important expressions of socio-political classification in the Senegambia" in the latter part of the nineteenth century. 'Soninke' is used in this context to denote an unbeliever, or non-practising Muslim; but, elsewhere in this thesis, it is used as an ethnic synonym for Serahuli (See section 3.1.2.).

3. See ARG, Political records 62/10: From G. Lorimer, Commissioner North Bank Province, to the Colonial Secretary, Bathurst, 14.9.42, 'Notes on the History of Baddibu side', p.5; Quinn (1972:101).

4. Rip is the Wolof term for Baddibu, arising from the marshy state of the soil (Bâ, T.O.L., 1957:566).



Map G - To show movement and settlements of the Jammeh of Illiassa (G).

from Sandial to Kerewan (ARG, 62/10, Lorimer, 1942:5), and his son, Saït Maty Bâ, later took up the harassment of Illiassa from his bases in the nearby villages of Jahajari and Alcalikunda.[1] Jatta Selang's exile took him first to Jammehkunda (which he had previously founded during the warfare in the area), and then to another village with close kinship ties in its foundation: Bakendik in Niumi.[2] As Ma Bâ's activities began to encroach westwards to Niumi, Jatta Selang and his followers crossed the River Gambia and settled in a new village near Sibanor, whose name commemorates this migration: Bakendik Jatta.[3]

During Jatta Selang Jammeh's exile (1861-1886), Sait Maty Bâ's aggressive actions in Baddibu brought him not only into conflict with his uncle Mamour Ndari Ba,[4] but also with leading chiefs, like Biram Cissé of Kaymor, who had remained in the region (Klein, 1968:136). Jatta Selang, having moved into Kiang, made a defensive alliance with Cissé, prior to returning to Eastern Baddibu to try to regain his lands. This alliance, which was also joined by Saït Kani and Nderi Kani Touré, led to successes at Saba

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1. See Map F - To show the movements of the Bâ family in Sine Saloum and the Gambia, p. 419.
2. The departure of Jatta Selang Jammeh and his entourage for Niumi follows an earlier migration of the Jammeh, since several oral sources have attributed the foundation of Bakendik to "the Jammeh from Illiassa". The village is traditionally cited as the oldest settlement in the area, from which the Jammeh participated with the Sonko in the rotating Mansaya (kingship) of the kingdom of Niumi (See documentation recorded by Cissoko, S-M.,& Sambou,K., 1974: p.1,32,38,40,51).
3. See Map G - To show movement and settlements of the Jammeh of Illiassa. Information on Jatta Selang's migration by courtesy of his grandson, Sheriff Jammeh, Brikama, 17.12.75.
4. See section (6.2.1.).

and Velingara-Oualo (Lorimer, 1942). After these defeats, Sa'it Maty Bà was obliged to face the French threat that finally forced him in turn to cross the River Gambia in exile.[1] Biram Cissé continued to support Jatta Selang in his re-assertion of his authority in Baddibu, but, in the Anglo-French boundary agreement of 1889, Cissé chose to remain under French jurisdiction, whereas Jammeh declined despite "considerable pressure" (ARG, 77/5, Macklin, 1933) from the same quarter. The British subsequently recognised the Jammeh family's significance in local politics by presenting the Union flag to Jatta Selang in 1893,[2] after they had declared that the area would be part of their Protectorate.

Despite the subsequent re-organisation of the local government of the North Bank province, the Jammeh family have retained their prominent position, with Biram Wudi replacing his father Jatta Selang as the Seyfu of Upper Baddibu in 1906.[3] The people under his jurisdiction were described as "mostly Soninkis, but fast becoming converts to Islam"[4], so that, although Biram Wudi was identified in 1909 as "the only Soninke chief now left in the Province",[5] his kin perhaps decided to consolidate

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1. Ibid., p. 418.
2. Although Lorimer (ARG,62/10,1942:6) states that Governor Rowe presented the flag to Jatta Selang Jammeh it is more likely to have been the Travelling Commissioner, J.H. Ozanne, who was appointed to the North Bank area in 1893 (ARG,77/5, Macklin, 1933; Gray, 1940:476).
3. Gambia Government Gazette, 30 June, 1927, p.234.
4. ARG, 60/2, The Travelling Commissioner's Report on the North Bank Province, 1902-1921: Travelling Commissioner's Report for 1907-1908.
5. Idem, The Travelling Commissioner's Report for 1909-1910.

their function as Seyfulolu by becoming Muslim. His brother Mama Tamba deputised for him 1925-1927,[1] before taking over in 1927.[2] He served until 1962, when he was succeeded by his son, Kebba, the present Seyfu.[3]

Senegambian contact

The Mandingisation of the Jammeh may have emerged from the power-sharing in which they participated with other leading families in Baddibu. However, their earlier ethnic history could have influenced their actions, with the traditional sympathies between the Serer and the Jola[4] perhaps attracting Jatta Selang Jammeh and his entourage to seek exile in the Foñi. Sheriff Jammeh said that those followers who later preferred to remain in Bakendik Jatta, rather than to return to Baddibu after the pacification of the area, have since adopted Jola Kombo as their first language, while retaining Mandinka as a language of wider communication.[5]

In whatever way the Serer and the Mandinka may have had a common origin, or have fused together in their

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1. ARG, Political Records, Vol.XI, 62/11, Biram Wudi Jammi.
2. ARG, 60/3, Annual Report North Bank Province 1923-1932, Annual Report of the Travelling Commissioner, E. Hopkinson, North Bank Province, for 1927, p.12.
3. Personal communication, Farafenni, 27.1.76.
4. Gamble (1967:99) quoted the tradition mentioned by de Wintz (1909) about the Jola and the Serer having common origins in Kaabu. The same tradition was referred to by informants to justify the 'joking relationship' that still exists between the two ethnic groups today.
5. Personal communication, Brikama, 17.12.75.

ethno-cultural and political development, an affinity traditionally exists between the two groups.[1] This has influenced the development of affinal links between the Jammeh of Illiassa and the Serer community of Nioro (S). Jatta Selang, Biram Wudi and Mama Tamba Jammeh have all had wives from the Bessane, Ndow or Loum families of Nioro du Rip, with the occasional example of the reverse trend (See Diagram c). Sometimes women originating from Nioro have sent their children back to their home town for their upbringing. Soutey Jammeh was thus brought up in her maternal grandparents' family, the Ndow; while Penda Wangaye lived with Madiaher (Jojo) Bessane's parents in Nioro.

Mama Tamba Jammeh (the former Seyfu in Upper Baddibu, 1927-1962) was born in Ker Tamba (S), because his mother Kumba Daga Bessane (from Nioro) was pregnant when she sought refuge there, while Illiassa was being attacked by Saït Maty Bâ. By an ironic coincidence, one of Sait Maty's wives, Wack Diouka, gave birth to her ill-fated son, Wakka Juka Bah[2], in Jahajari (G) during the same year, but although both descendants of leading protagonists in the 'Marabout/Soninke' warfare remained in the Gambia, their birthplaces were divided by the imposition of the colonial boundary (See Map F). Abdou Boury Bâ claimed[3] that in the

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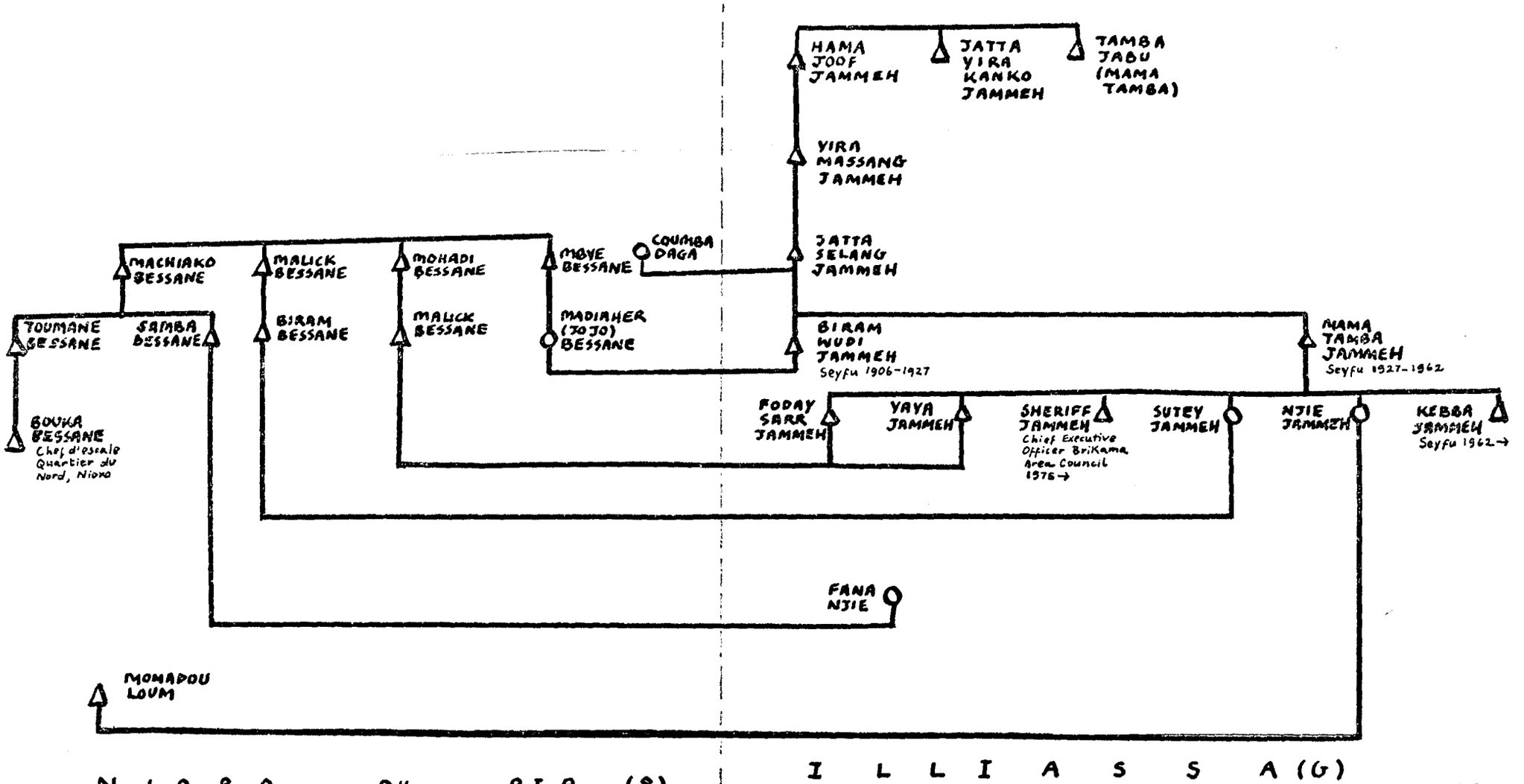
1. For example, Cissoko,S-M. (1974:119,fn.1), having noted the confusing variety of legends about the origins of the Mandinka in this area, comments "Un fait est en tout cas sur, c'est le contact et le métissage des Sérères et des Mandingues surtout des regions limitrophes comme le Niomi et le Badibu".
2. See section (6.2.1), pp.421,422.
3. Personal communication, Koussanar, 13.4.75.



Compiled with assistance from

SHEAIFF JAMMEH, BriKama, 6.10.75 & 17.12.75;
MAMA TAMBA JAMMEH, Illiassa, 10.10.75;
KEBBA JAMMEH, Farafenni, 27.1.76;
BOUKA BESSANE, Nioro, 7.8.75;
BOUKA BESSANE, IBOU TOPP & MOMADOU KANTE, Nioro, 26.1.76.

Diagram c - Intermarriage between the Serer community of Nioro du Rip (S) and the Mandinka community of Illiassa (G).

Anglo-French border commission of 1904/1905, the French contested Jahajari, and only relinquished it when Jatta Selang Jammeh conceded that Ker Tamba should be in Senegalese territory.[1]

The border thus separates Illiassa from Ker Tamba and Ker Diatta. These two villages were founded by uncles of Yira Massang (See Diagram c), as the Jammeh in Illiassa increased in number; but, although members of the leading Diouf (Ker Tamba) and Diouffène (Ker Diatta) families have Serer antecedents, and still speak some Mandinka, they are more Wolofised than the Jammeh family living three miles away.[2]

Language usage in Senegambian contact

Close agnatic and affinal ties have continued, despite modifications in patterns of language usage according to the dominant lingue franche that the ethnic majority in each village has imposed. Bouka Bessane said that his family still spoke 'Serer Saloum-Saloum' (Serer Sine) in their compounds, but that Wolof had become the dominant language, even within the Serer community, of which he is the leader.[3] Serer women, who have married into the Jammeh family, have thus spoken both Serer-Sine

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1. The placing of the nineteenth and twentieth pillars, recorded in the 'Official Report of the Anglo-French Commission for the re-marking of the frontier of the Gambia' (ARG,2/75) confirms this agreement.

2. Personal communication, Mama Tamba Jammeh, Illiassa, 10.10.75.

3. Personal communication, Bouka Bessane, Nioro, 7.8.75.

and Wolof on arriving from Nioro, but Mama Tamba and Bouka Bessane agreed that they had subsequently learnt Mandinka from living in Illiassa. The children that might later be sent back to Nioro for their upbringing, would learn some Serer-Sine through living in the Quartier du Nord ('Quartier Bessane'), but they would above all learn fluent Wolof, as the main lingua franca in the village.[1] Bouka Bessane said that he had learnt some Mandinka through having had to carry messages from his father to Biram Wudi and Mama Tamba in Illiassa. The latter informant, however, considered that those who could speak Mandinka on the Senegalese side of the border were not very numerous, and so he would be more likely to speak Wolof when attending family celebrations or visiting kin and affines in Ker Tamba, Ker Diatta or Nioro. Two of his sons, Sheriff and Kebba, agreed with him about the use of Wolof with kin across the border, but the same medium had also been used in official contact with Senegalese counterparts. For example, Kebba Jammeh, in his capacity as Seyfu, had used Wolof with the Sous-Préfets of Medina-Sabakh and Paos-Koto; whereas Sheriff Jammeh, working as Chief Executive Officer for the Brikama Area Council, referred to a visit from the Sous-Préfet of Bignona in which Wolof had been similarly used.

The growing significance of Wolof as a second language of wider communication in Baddibu was epitomised by Sheriff Jammeh in the dictum 'Badibu be suruwa' (Baddibu is becoming Wolof), but the Jammeh prefer to use their own language as far as possible, and insist that their Senegalese wives learn to communicate in it. The shift in language habits for these women is thus influenced by the dominant language of the

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1. Adjaratou Penda Wangaye, Personal communication, Nioro, 11.4.75, confirmed these linguistic tendencies from her

Table XXVII: The Roles of Mandinka and Wolof in Contact between the Jammeh and the Bessane.

Background				
A1 Age & Sex	M90+	M50+	M40+	M60+
A2 Birthplace	Ker Tamba (S)	Illiassa (G)	Illiassa (G)	Nioro du Rip (S)
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic & secondary (Georgetown & Banjul)	Quranic & secondary (Georgetown & Banjul)	Quranic (with Tafsir Mamour Bâ)
A4 Occupation	Seyfu-Upper Baddibu District, 1927-1962.	Ex-Provincial interpreter now official on Brikama Area Council.	Seyfu-Upper Baddibu, 1963.	Chef d'Escale, Quartier du Nord, Nioro.
A5 Residence	Illiassa	Brikama	Farafenni (G)	Nioro du Rip
Senegambian Contact				
B1 Kin & Affines	Ker Tamba, Ker Diatta, Nioro 2 wives from Nioro & Thissy Kaymor (S)	Ker Tamba, Ker Diatta, Nioro	Ker Tamba, Ker Diatta, Nioro	Affinal ties with the Jammeh of Illiassa
B2 Occupation	As Head of the Jammeh, used to be consulted by representatives of Ker Diatta & Ker Tamba in choice of Alcali.	Occasional contact with Sous-Prefet of Brikama.	Meetings with Sous-Prefets of Paos-Koto & Medina Sabakh.	-
Language Repertoire				
C1 HL1	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka	Serer-Saloum Saloum (Serer-Sine)
C2 HL2	Wolof	Serer-Sine, Wolof	A little Wolof but improved at school in Georgetown	Wolof
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Mandinka	Mandinka	Wolof
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Mandinka	Mandinka	Mandinka & Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	Mandinka & Wolof	Wolof & Mandinka into English for interpretation. In Brikama Mandinka mainly, some Wolof. English the official working language.	Mandinka & Wolof, English in contact with government officials in Banjul.	Wolof, Serer-Sine
C8 OL1	a little English (used in administration)	English	English	a little French
C9 OL2	-	-	-	
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1 & B2)	Wolof (B1 & B2)	Wolof & a little Mandinka (B1)
	XXVII: 1	XXVII:2	XXVII:3	XXVII:4

Table XXVII: The Roles of Mandinka and Wolof in Contact between the Jammeh and the Bessane

the environment into which they marry, just as the Jammeh in the past have altered their first language loyalties, and later adopted Islam, in order to enhance their status in local politics and government.

6.2.3. Senegambian Families: The Touré/Touray.

Introduction: Senegambian origins.

The branches of the Touré family in Medina-Sabakh (S) and Balanghar (G) illustrate the process of Wolofisation through the migration of their Soninke or Mandinka ancestors[1] to Sine Saloum from 'Manding'.[2] Although precise evidence has not been found to prove that the Touré participated in the gellwar migration from Manding, the similarity of their ethnic associations and the pattern of their movements, with the Jammeh in nearby Illiassa, make this hypothesis possible. Barra Touray (the former Seyfu of Lower Saloum district) referred to a distant ancestor, Katim Jumalibah, as a "Serahuli from Manding",

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1. Barra Touray (Personal communication, Balanghar, 10.5.76; Banjul, 9.10.76) was adamant that his patrilineage was originally "Serahuli from Manding", but the uncertainty among other members of his family about their Mandinka or Soninke ethnic origins may have become confused by historical links between the two groups. Such traditions may emanate from the close association of the leading Soninke families of Wagudu with the rise of Sundiata Keita, the celebrated Emperor of Mali during the thirteenth century (see, for example, Niane, D.T., Soundjata ou l'epopée mandingue, Présence Africaine, Paris, 1960, pp.63-70).

2. This term is used in the Gambia to apply to its widest location - referring not only to the Manding heartland on the borders of contemporary Mali and Guinea, but also to the area lying to the east of the Gambia that constituted the ancient Mali Empire (See Cissoko, S-M., & Sambou, K. (Eds.), 1974: 77, fn.3).

who lived in Maka Kahône (Sine) prior to settling at Passy Ngela in Saloum. The patrilineal descent of both Biram Touré (the former Chef de Canton at Medina-Sabakh) and Barra Touray (the former Seyfu on the other side of the border) is attributed to the lineage of Sanchianko Choro Touray, one of the sons of Katim Jumalibah who migrated to the area.

This ironical situation, through which the Touré of Medina-Sabakh and the Touray of Balanghar have served different governments in adjoining territories, arises from the imposition of the colonial border across their lands. The Touray family held the chieftancy of Sabakh as a subsidiary fief to the Mansa Baddibu, prior to the overthrow of the Mandinka 'Soninke' hegemony by Ma Bâ and his followers. Their leading position in Sabakh during the nineteenth century was consolidated by their alliances with neighbouring chiefs during the upheaval caused by Ma Bâ's holy jihād in Sine Saloum, and was to be channelled on both sides of the border into the system of local government introduced by the colonial authorities after the pacification of the area. During the post-Independence era, both branches of the family have continued to play a prominent role in local administration by serving their respective national governments.

The Touray and the Jammeh cite a similar pattern of migration from Manding to Sine, prior to finally settling in Saloum. Barra Touray referred to an affinity with the Diouf of Maka Kahône, arising from their residence among the Serer; but their subsequent migration to Saloum resulted in greater exposure to Wolofisation, since this language

was the dominant lingua franca of the locality. They also differed from the Jammeh in their identification as one of the leading marabout families when Ma Bâ Diakhou settled in the area (Klein, 1968:97,fn.c; 101); but the latter quickly established himself as a prominent exponent of Islam. Sambou Oumané Touré of Mbap sent his son, Nderi Kani, to Ma Bâ's daara in the Rip (Bâ,T.O.L., 1957: 572), thereby forming a link with the Touré that was to ensure their involvement in his holy jihād, and the subsequent warfare in Sine Saloum.

Sambou Oumané Touré followed Ma Bâ's example in his leading participation in a smaller proselytising movement that spread from Sabakh and Sandial in 1862 to neighbouring Kaymor (Bâ, 1957: 574; Klein, 1968:75). On extending their campaign northwestwards to Ndémène, Sambou Oumané was defeated and killed by Samba Laobé Fall, the Bur Saloum, in 1863 (ARS,1G 283, Chaudron, 1901:17; Klein, 1968:75: Quinn, 1972:129); but his sons, Saït Kani and Nderi Kani Touré, became closely associated with Ma Bâ's jihād, alongside Biram Cissé, from Ker Samba Yacine.[1]

Sambou Oumané Touré had operated from Mbap (S), but his sons Saït Kani and Nderi Kani had their tata at Kataba (G)[2], which remained their main base for the next

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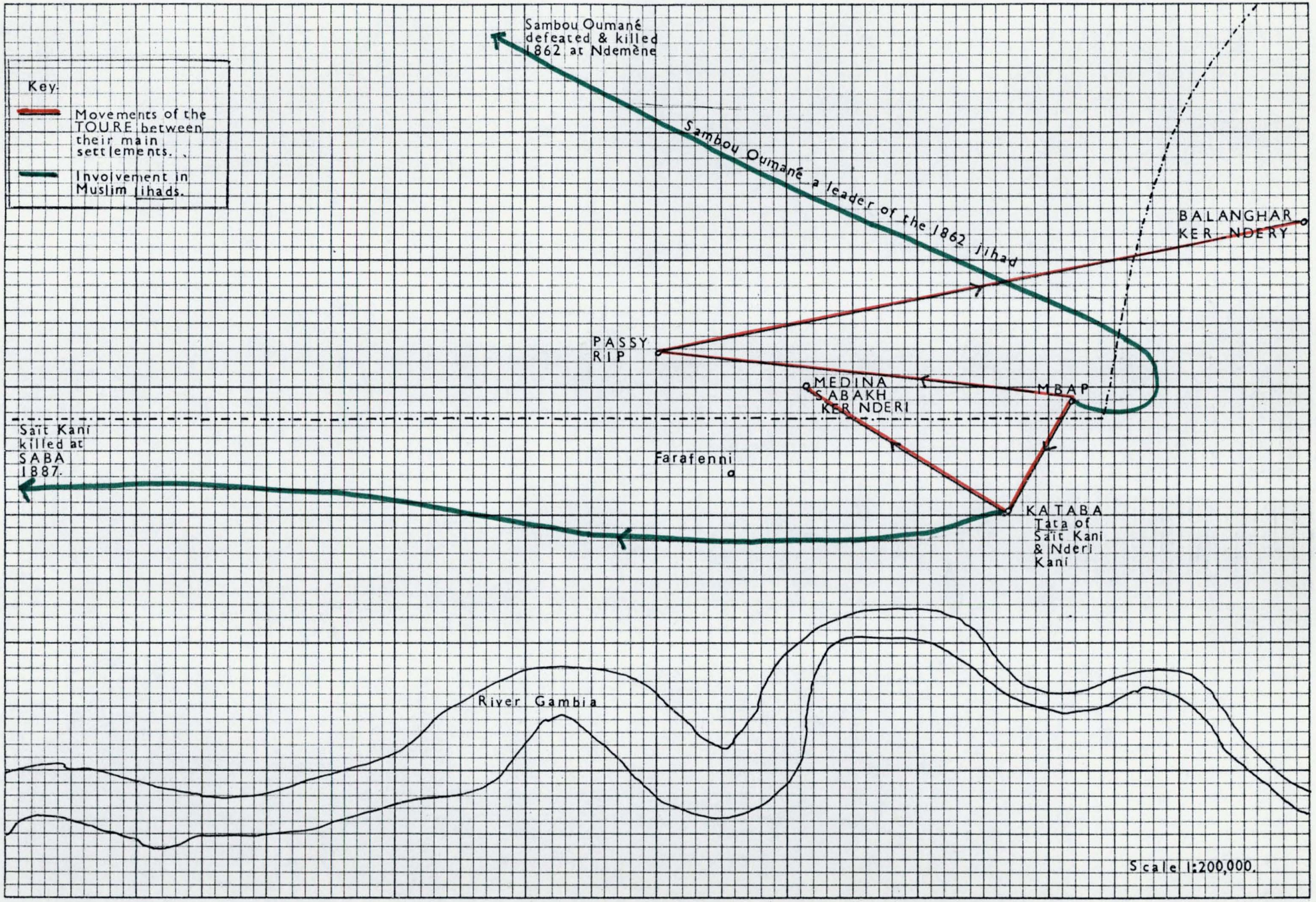
1. The Cissé, like the Touré, had probably shifted their ethnic mother tongue to Wolof during the nineteenth century, in order to enhance their authority in Kaymor. Klein (1968:101,fn.i) discusses the likelihood of this change in language habits.

2. See Map H - To show movement between different settlements of the Touré leading to the establishment of Nderi Kani Touré at Medina Sabakh in 1901.



Map H - To show movement between different settlements of the Touré/Touray leading to the establishment of Nderi Kani Touré at Medina-Sabakh in 1901.

twenty-five years. In the power struggle that erupted within the Bâ family after Ma Bâ's death in Sine in 1867[1], the Touré brothers supported Mamour Ndari Bâ in a defensive alliance that was to be reinforced by a series of affinal ties between their children.[2] However, this option brought them into conflict with Ma Bâ's son, Saït Maty Bâ, who began to threaten their territorial interests, and those of Biram Cissé, from his tata at Farafenni.[3] They collaborated against him at Saba in 1886, but Saït Kani was killed in a battle that constituted one of the decisive defeats in Saït Maty's downfall (ARS,1G 283, Chaudron, 1901:17; ARG,62/10, Lorimer, 1942:6).

Nderi Kani succeeded his brother as leader, but later refused to accept the French decision appointing Biram Cissé to the chieftancy of Sabakh-Sandial (Quinn: 1972:183). In their pacification of Sine Saloum, the French authorities wanted to ensure continuing support from local leaders by rewarding those who had inadvertently helped their cause through their opposition to Saït Maty. Nderi Kani Touré's vigilant efforts in this respect were eventually recognised when the chieftancy of Sabakh-Sandial reverted to him after Biram Cissé had been exiled on suspicion of collaborating with the British (Klein, 1968: 147); but it would seem that he may have played a major part in the arrest of his former ally in order to serve

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1. see section (6.2.1).

2. Ibid., p.428.

3. Personal communication, Abdou Boury Bâ, Koussanar, 13.4.75.

his personal ambitions (Quinn, 1972:183).

Senegambian contact

During the delimitation of the boundary between French and British territorial influence, Nderi Kani was given the choice of residence on either side of the border, but opted to live under French administration (ARS,1G 283, Chaudron, 1901:17; Klein, 1968:154). He received Koungheul (which was later exchanged for Ngayène), and the neighbouring canton of Dramé in compensation for the land lost through his abandonment of Kataba (Chaudron 1901:17; Klein, 1968:155). He founded Medina-Sabakh in 1901[1] on land where the family had previously been farming,[2] and remained chef de canton until 1907, when his nephew, Nderi Yacine, succeeded him.[3] Nevertheless, although the leading branch of the Touré family had had to make a definite decision about residence under the colonial authorities, the local inhabitants kept their options open. The movement of large numbers of people across the border during Nderi Yacine's chieftancy was attributed to his harsh mismanagement of the area,[4] which eventually led to

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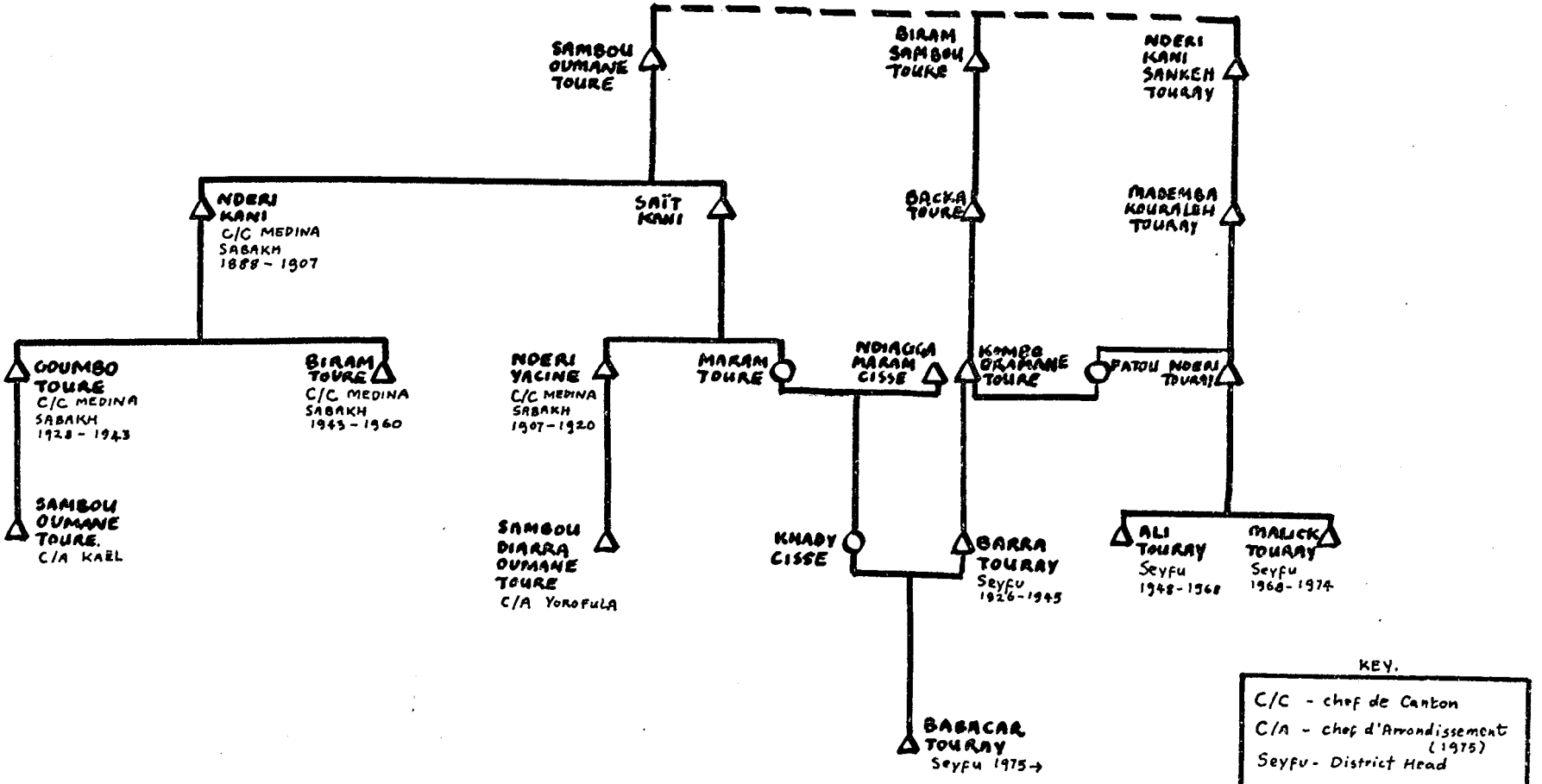
1. Personal communication, Abdou Boury Bâ, Koussanar, 13.4.75.

2. Personal communication, Biram Touré, Medina-Sabakh, 27.3.75.

3. ARS, 1693, Gouvernement Général de l'A.O.F., Colonie du Sénégal, Cercle du Sine Saloum, Feuille de Renseignements concernant le nommé Ndery Yacine Touré, Kaolack, le 1er septembre, 1917.

4. See ARS, IC 1698, l'Administrateur-Adjoint, Résident du Rip, à M. l'Administrateur commandant le Cercle du Sine Saloum à Kaolack: Nioro, le 26 septembre, 1914 (No.435); l'Administrateur des Colonies commandant le Cercle du Sine Saloum à M. le Lieutenant-Gouverneur du Sénégal à St. Louis: Kaolack, le 4 mars, 1921 (No.190).



Compiled with assistance from

BARRA TOURAY, Balanghar, 10.5.75; Banjul, 9.10.75;
BABACAR TOURAY, Balanghar, 10.5.75;
BIRAM TOURE, Medina Sabakh, 27.3.75 & 11.10.75;
TAMBIR OUSMANE LANA BA, Dakar, 9.1.76.

Diagram d - Local government leadership under different colonial and national authorities among the Touré/Touray families of Medina-Sabakh (S) and Balanghar (G).

his dismissal as chef de canton by the French.

Medina-Sabakh is still referred to as 'Ker Nderi': a Wolof name that reflects the language loyalties of its founder to the first language of the majority of the population. The term 'Sabakh',[1] however, denotes the three main ethnic groups of the locality, which includes the Mandinka and Fula as well as the predominant Wolof. Balanghar is also called 'Ker Ndery', but this name is derived from another ancestor, Nderi Kani Sankeh Touray, who once lived there.[2] Barra Touray (the former Seyfu of the lower Saloum district) claims descendence from this ancestor through his mother, Fatou Touray; but, on his father's side, he is descended from Biram Sambou Touré,[2] whose precise relationship to Sambou Oumané Toure remains obscure. The collateral branches of the family at Passy Rip (S) and Balanghar (G) were united through the marriage of Barra's parents, but, when his father, Kombo Dramane, died, Barra left Passy Rip (his place of birth) to return to Balanghar with his mother. He later became Seyfu of the district, and was succeeded by his cousins, prior to the election of the present incumbent, Babacar Touray.[3]

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1. From saba (M.): three.
2. See Diagram - d.
3. Cf. Diagram d and Map H.

Table XXVIII: The Dominant Role of Wolof among the Touray of Balanghar (G) and the Touré of Medina-Sabakh (S).

Background			
A1 Age & Sex	M60+	M70+	M40+
A2 Birthplace	Medina Sabakh (S)	Passy Rip (S)	Balanghar (G)
A3 Education	Quranic	Quranic	Quranic & secondary (Georgetown).
A4 Occupation	Chef de Canton (1943-1960).	Seyfu (1926-1945).	Seyfu Lower Saloum District since 1975.
A5 Residence	Medina Sabakh	Balanghar (G)	Balanghar
Senegambian Contact			
B1 Kin & Affines	Kin & affines in Balanghar.	Kin & affines in Passy Rip & Medina Sabakh.	Kin & affines in Medina Sabakh.
B2 Occupation	Occasional professional contact.	Occasional meeting.	Not so far.
B6 Other	Occasionally shops in Farafenni.		
Language Repertoire			
C1 HL1	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2	-	-	-
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C4 L/Education	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic English
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	Wolof & a little French	Wolof, some Mandinka.	Wolof, Mandinka, English with civil servants.
C8 OL1	a little French (useful in administration).	Limited English	English (education)
C9 OL2	-	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1)	Wolof (B1)
	XXVIII:1	XXVIII:2	XXVIII:3

Language usage in Senegambian contact

Although a few members of the Touray family still live in Kataba (G), the main branches of the family are to be found in Medina-Sabakh (S) and Balanghar (G). Despite the presence of Fula and Mandinka-speaking inhabitants, spokesmen in both villages considered Wolof to be the dominant first language, which also serves as a language of wider communication in the area. Biram Touré considered Mandinka to be "the language spoken in the Gambia" (in contrast to his former canton), since, he, personally, had only needed Wolof and a little French for his work in local government.[1] On the other hand, both Barra and Babacar Touray have needed Wolof and Mandinka for the administration of the Lower Saloum district, but Mandinka was considered to be secondary in importance to the wider currency of Wolof[2] (Table XXVIII).

Fluency in the official language was more evident among the Touré who had served as chef de canton, than the Touray who had been seyfu.[3] For example, Nderi Yacine Touré attended the Ecole Primaire de Nioro 1900/1[4], whereas his cousin, Goumbo Touré, went to the Ecole des Fils de

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1. Personal communication, Medina-Sabakh, 27.3.75 & 11.4.75.

2. Personal communications Balanghar, 10.5.75.

3. See Diagram d - Local government leadership under different colonial and national authorities among the Touré/Touray families of Medina-Sabakh (S) and Balanghar (G).

4. ARS, IC 2301, Gouvernement Général de l'AOF, Colonie du Sénégal, Bulletin Individuel des Notes, 1911: Ndery Yacine Touré, Chef de Canton du Saback Rip.

Chefs at St. Louis.[1] Among the Touray who have been Seyfulolu of Lower Saloum, only Babacar has had any formal instruction in the official language, having attended Armitage School in Georgetown. He identified English as a language that is mainly limited tc his work domain, since this occasionally entails contact with officials from Banjul.

The heads of both branches of the family thought that their Manding origins had been assimilated through several generations of Wolofisation. Their adoption of the main lingua franca of the ethnically heterogenous area of Sabakh perhaps helped to establish their position as a leading marabout/warrior family and their continuing prominence in local politics.

In family meetings between the Touré and the Touray (such as the large reunion organised at Medina-Sabakh in 1974), Wolof has been used as the Senegambian medium of communication. Similarly Biram Touré said that he had used Wolof at both formal and informal festivities in the Gambia, like the official ceremony making his cousin, Babacar, Seyfu of Lower Saloum in 1975.

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1. ARS, IC 2301, Gouvernement Général de l'AOF, Colonie du Sénégal, Feuille de Renseignements concernant M. Goumbo Touré.

6.2.4. Senegambian Families: The Jallow/Kah.

Introduction: Senegambian origins.

The Jallow family of Ker Cherno (G) and the Kah family of Medina-Bye-Mass (G) retain close links with their kin and affines in Sobuldé and Dianièt (S), arising from their strong patrilineal tradition of Islamic piety and learning. The function that members of the Jallow/Kah families have fulfilled as Senegambian marabouts has been combined with farming; but, although their most revered ancestor, Tierno Momodou Diallo,[1] influenced military leaders involved in the extension of Islam,[2] he did not

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1. Diagram (e) illustrates the importance of Tierno Momodou's spiritual influence on his patrilineal descent and that of Serigne Mass Kà.

2. Alfa Molo is cited by Roche (1974:190) as seeking advice from Tierno Momodou Diallo in Sobuldé during the uprising of the Fulbe in Casamance, 1869-1880. His son Musa Molo has also been cited as consulting "a marabout in Sobuldé" in his activities against Fodé Kaba (See Bamba Suso: 'Fode Kaba' in Innes, G., Kaabu and Fuladu: Historical narratives of the Gambian Mandinka, SOAS, London, 1976, p.278, l.455; p.282, l.541). Since the griot identifies this marabout with the patrilineage of Cherno Baba Jallow, it must have been Tierno Momodou Diallo at this particular time. Abdoulaye Bà (Personal communication, Dakar, 18.3.75), a grandson of Saït Maty Bâ, and Mbaké Kà (Personal communication, Dakar, 19.10.76), a grandson of Tierno Momodou Diallo, both acknowledge that Tierno Momodou Diallo initiated Saït Maty Bâ into the Tijāniyya.

participate personally in the aggressive Senegambian jihāds of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The option for a quiet life seems characteristic of subsequent generations of the Jallow/Kah families, and may be derived from the long period of pious meditation that their leading members have undergone.[1] One reason given for Mass Kâ's original migration to the Gambia was his "dislike of the tam tams in the noisy border village of Karang",[2] while another reason, cited by descendants of the chef de canton at the time, was a disagreement arising from the French conscription campaign during the first World War.[3] However, spokesmen from the Kah and the Jallow families consider both the move to the village of Niana Farra (c.1916), which was renamed 'Medina-Bye-Mass', and the later foundation of Ker Cherno (c.1925) to have been prompted by the search for land to cultivate.

It seems more plausible, from interviews with talibés, whose kin have been affiliated to the Jallow or the Kah families for several generations, that the migration patterns of these itinerant marabouts reflected both their interest in the land that their talibés would cultivate for them, and their role as teachers of the Qur'ān. The

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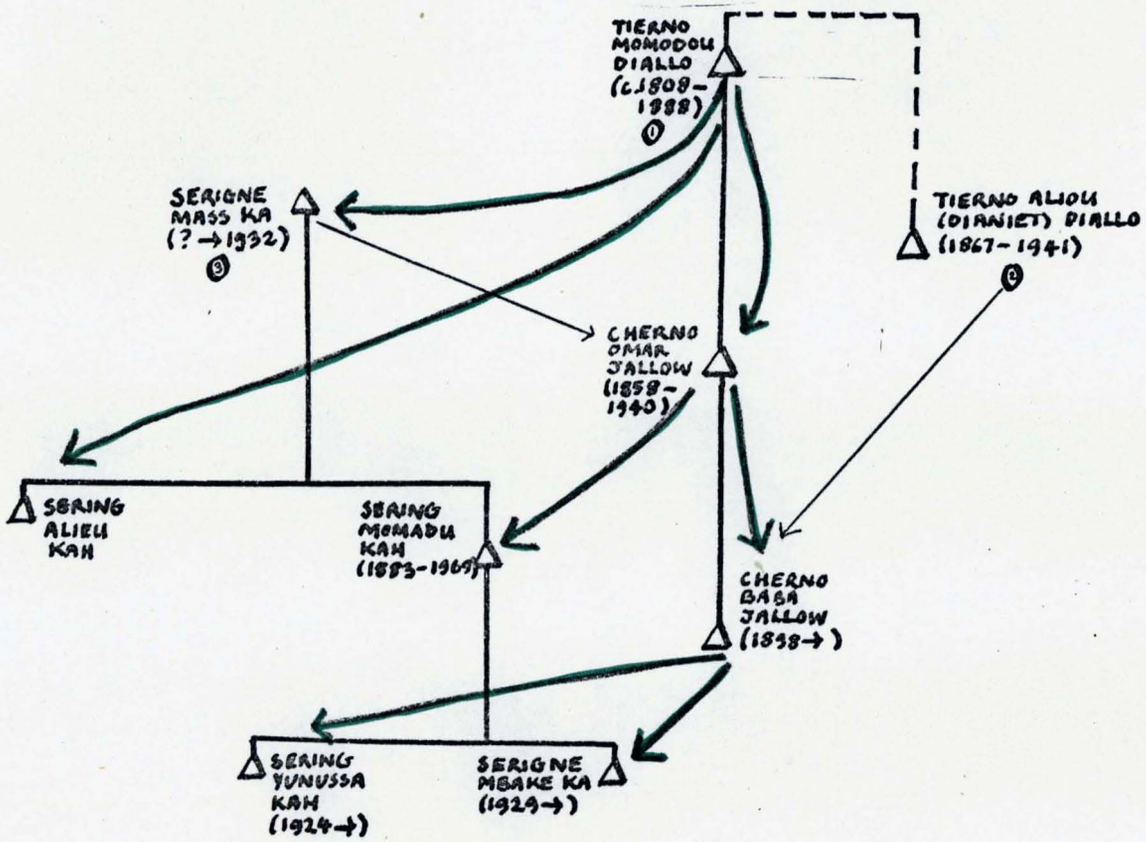
1. On this mystical, ascetic aspect of Sufism (taṣawuf), that necessitates a prolonged period of meditation and introspection in order to achieve states of 'extasy' (wajd, wujūd) and 'Union' (tawhīd) with Allah, see Dumont, F. (1974:pp.225-229).

2. Personal communication, Biram Djiby Seck (griot), Sokone, 30.3.75.

3. This could have been a contributory factor, since particular difficulties in enlistment in the Niombato area have been cited by Klein (1968:218) during this Chef de Canton's period in office.



KEY.

denotes transmission of the wird – the initiation into the tariqa of TIERNO MOMADOU DIALLO.

additional Quranic teaching.

① ② ③ See movements of these clerics in MAP I.

Compiled with assistance from

Serigne MBAKE KA, Dakar, 19.10.75 & 22.10.75;

Cherno BABA JALLOW, Ker Cherno Omar, 23.11.75.

Diagram e - To show the spiritual chains of affiliation and authority between the patrilineal descendants of Tierno Momodou Diallo and Serigne Mass Kâ.

movements of Tierno Momodou Diallo, Tierno Aliou Diallo, Tierno Oumar Diallo and Serigne Mass Kâ, in relation to their descendants who have remained in Ker Cherno (G), Sobuldé (S), Dianièt (S) and Medina-Bye-Mass,[1] reflect the process of language shift as they have adopted the language of the locality in order to fulfil their function as marabouts.

Tierno Momodou Diallo originated from Sarekali in the Fouta Djalon, but came to Cayor to continue his Islamic studies. He spent twelve years in St. Louis studying different aspects of Sufism before moving from Ngaye Mekhé to Sine Saloum, and then to Banjul, where his son Cherno Omar was born (1858). He returned to Ker Momodou Néné in Sine Saloum prior to crossing the River Gambia for the last time on his way to Sobuldé in the Casamance, with his muqaddem (and second cousin) Tierno Aliou Diallo. During the forty years that he spent in Senegambia, Tierno Momodou established the spiritual affiliations that still draw disciples to his grandson Cherno Baba Jallow. For example, he conferred the wird and the authority of muquaddem of his Tijāniyya tarīqa onto Mass Kâ, Tierno Aliou Diallo, Tierno Dème and Sa'it Maty Bâ. Such links have subsequently led to the formation of other tarīqa, like that of El Hadj Ibrahima Niass of Kaolack (the son of Tierno Momodou's muquaddem, Abdoulaye Niass)[2], or that of Tierno Momadou

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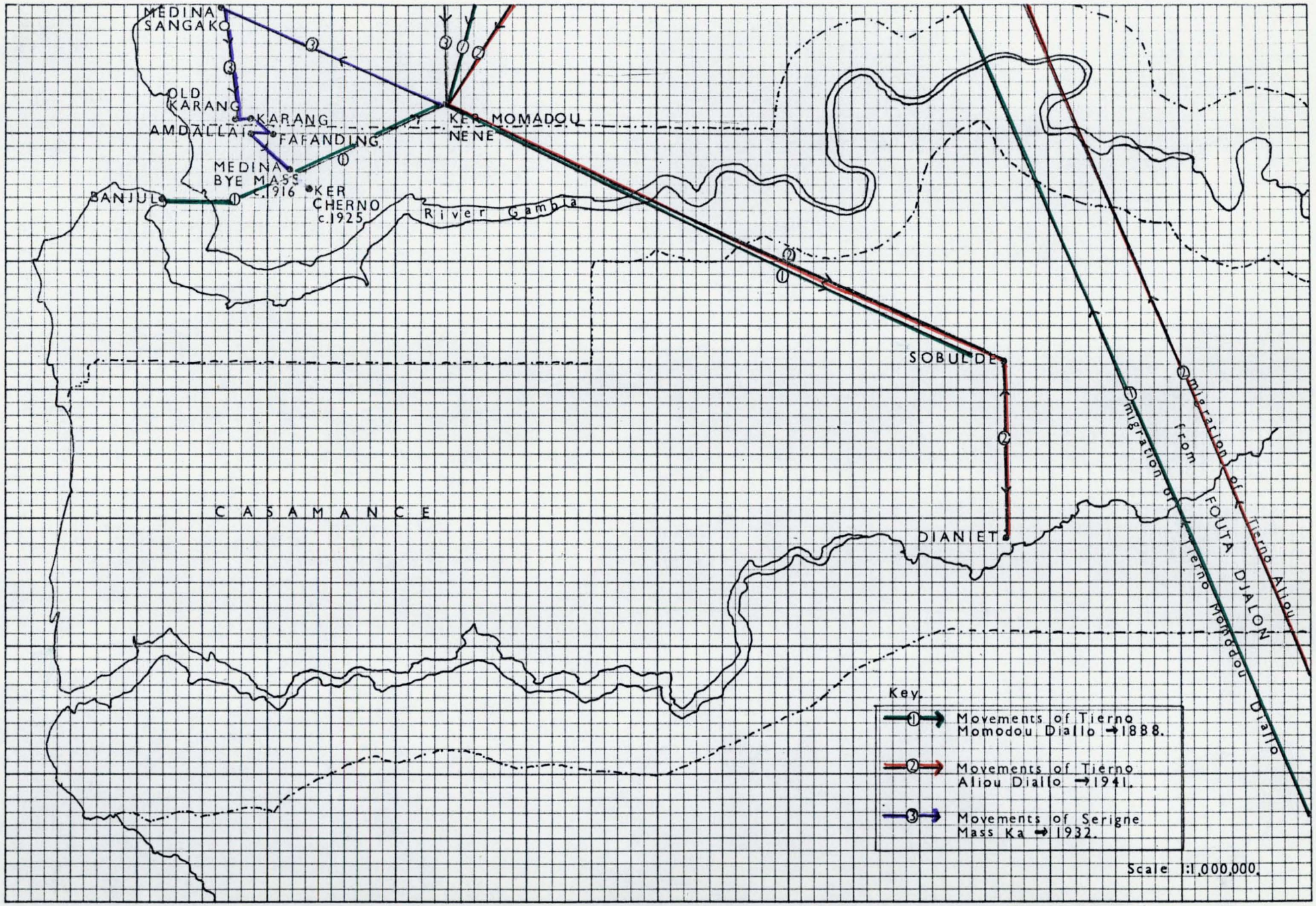
1. See Map I.

2. See ARS, 13G 68, Cercle de Kaolack, Surveillance des Marabouts Sédentaires, Feuille de Renseignments: Al Hadji Abdoulaye Niasse, Kaolack, 11 Mars, 1914; see also p.193.



Map I - To show the movements of three Muslim clerics leading to close links between their descendants in Medina-Bye-Mass (G), Cherno Omar (G), Dianiêt (S) and Sobuldé (S).

Seydou (Sa'it) Bâ of Medina-Gonasse (S)(whose spiritual geneaology with Tierno Momodou can be traced through El Hadj Ali Thiam of Medina-al-Hagy in Casamance, and Tierno Aliou Dème of Ndiayekounda).[1]

Descendants of Tierno Momodou recount that he spent his last days in Sobuldé, but he established the basis for the close spiritual, educational and affinal affiliations, that have developed between the Kah and the Jallow in Medina-Bye-Mass and Ker Cherno,[2] by the instructions that he left on his deathbed for his son Cherno Omar. On completing his studies in the Fouta Toro, Omar was to continue his quranic education with his father's muquaddem, Serigne Mass Kâ, who had left Ndiayène (near Ker Momodou Néné) to live for short periods in other villages in the area, such as Ker Samba Laobé Ngom, Medina Sangako, Ker Mbassa, Maka and Old Karang.[3] Cherno Omar joined his new teacher at this last village, and so together they moved to Karang Wasso (where the Senegalese border post is now situated), Fafanding and Amdallai[4] (where the Gambian border post has since been established), prior to settling at Niana Farra, which was renamed 'Medina-Bye-Mass'[5] after its leading inhabitant.

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1. Personal communication, Serigne Mbaké Kâ, Dakar, 22.10.76.
2. Diagram e.
3. Personal communication, Sering Mustafa Kah, Medina-Bye-Mass, 6.12.76.
4. Personal communication, Doro Jallow, Banjul, 6.12.76.
5. 'Baay b-' (W.), meaning father, is sometimes used as a term of respect for Muslim clerics, perhaps reflecting the paternal aspect of their relationship with their talibés (cf. Serigne Baye Niass of Kaolack).

Meanwhile Tierno Aliou Diallo had remained in Sobuldé (although he had to move for a short while to Dianiè̀t, near Kolda, in 1909, because of a water shortage in Firdhiou). Tierno Aliou's own movements across the region had established his reputation as a quranic teacher, that Marty (1917:387) noted in his description of this "disciple de Tierno Mamadou Diallo ... un marabout paisible, qui enseigne le Coran à une quarantaine d'élèves venus de la région; ainsi que du Fouta Diallon, de la Guinée Portugaise, de la Gambie, et même du Baol..."

Senegambian contact

Cherno Omar subsequently left Medina-Bye-Mass to found his own village, Ker Cherno, five miles away (c.1925), but the spiritual chain of authority has subsisted, since he in turn initiated Serigne Momadu Kah into their Tijāniyya tarīqa, whereas Cherno Baba transmitted the wird to Serigne Mass Ka's grandsons, Yunussa and Mbaké, after being initially responsible for their Quranic studies.[1]

Apart from educational ties, the strong spiritual links between the Jallow and the Kah, that have continued from generation to generation, have been consolidated by affinal ties. The inter-relationship between the spiritual baraka[2] of Tierno Momodou and blood ties has also been illustrated by marriages between his descendants and the

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1. See Diagram e.

2. See p. 192.

descendants of his muqaddems, such as the Dème of Ndiayekunda (S) and the grandchildren of Saït Maty Bâ who have returned to Nioro (S).

A significant Senegambian event organised by the tarīqa is the annual ziara, that reunites different branches of the Jallow, Kâ and Dème families, as well as talibés of Cherno Baba Jallow from throughout the region, to recite prayers in memory of Tierno Momodou. Although ziaras are also organised by Serigne Yunussa Kah at Medina-Bye-Mass, and by Cherno Baba at Ker Cherno, their disciples consider the meeting at Sobuldé to be the most important. This has been revived because of the location of the graves of Tierno Momodou and Tierno Aliou, and perpetuates the ziara that Cherno Omar used to organise between his village and the two villages in the Casamance where members of his family had settled.

Language usage in Senegambian contact

The Kah and the Jallow families illustrate the process of language maintenance and language shift through the itinerant life that their forefathers have led in pursuit of land for cultivation and the propagation of Islam.

The Kah family originated from Fouta Toro, but had become Wolofised on moving to Cayor in the same way as other clerical families from Tukulor backgrounds, like the Bâ[1] and the Bamba Mbaké,[2] who migrated to predominantly

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1. See section (6.2.1).
2. i.e. the patrilineage of Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba, the founder of the Muridiyya, see p. 194 & p. 211.

Wolof-speaking areas. Although Wolof was the main home language of Serigne Mass Kâ, close contact between his descendants and clerics in the Jallow family (including educational and affinal links) has helped to maintain Fula as a second language. Some of the marabouts in the Kah family have also accentuated their knowledge of Fula through studying in the Fouta Toro, but this remains secondary to the role of Wolof as a first language. Perhaps one of the most obvious aspects of their Wolofisation can be seen in their adoption of the Wolof title 'Serigne' to denote their function as marabouts, whereas the Jallow have retained the Fula title of 'Cherno'.

In the Jallow family the process of modifying first language habits is not as pronounced, since dialect shift, rather than language shift, is evident. Ker Cherno is only five miles away from Medina-Bye-Mass, but the family have retained most of their Fulbe customs, apart from their original dialect of Fula which has been modified through close contact with other Fula-speakers in the locality. Tierno Momodou migrated to Senegambia from Fouta Djalon, but, when he finally settled at Sobuldé, his family began to speak the Fula (Fuladu) dialect of Firdhiou. In Ker Cherno, Fula, rather than Wolof, is the main lingua franca (although most inhabitants speak Wolof as a second language), but the dominant dialect tends to be the 'Balwaalo' dialect of Fula that the people of Tukulor descent speak in Sine Saloum. Cherno Baba identified (24) Fulaphone and (3) Wolof-speaking households in his village[1], but, although the former came from varied

1. Personal communication, Cherno Baba Jallow, Ker Cherno, 23.11.75.

Fouta Djalon, Fouta Toro and Firdhiou backgrounds, the 'Balwaalo' dialect is the most important. Through studying with Tierno Aliou in Sobuldé and Dianiè̀t, Cherno Baba learnt Fula 'Fouta Djalon' from his teacher, and Fula Fuladu from living in the locality while his knowledge of Fula 'Balwaalo' results from settling in Sine Saloum. His talibés are mainly Fula or Tukulor, but, since he has some Wolof followers, both languages are spoken in the four dā'hiras that his talibés have formed in Banjul. Similarly, at the annual ziara at Sobuldé, Sering Yunussa speaks to those assembled in Wolof, which is then translated into the Fula Fuladu dialect.

The education of members of the Kah and Jallow families in St. Louis (S) and the Fouta Toro (S), as well as Sobuldé (S), Dianiè̀t (S), Ker Cherno (G) and Medina-Bye-Mass (G), illustrates the Islamic unity of Senegambia, which has not been affected by national differences so long as Quranic studies have been kept within their traditional framework (Table XXIX). In contemporary Senegambia, however, this is gradually changing. Cherno Baba and Sering Yunussa have followed their Islamic studies within the confines of the region, but since Independence, several younger members of the family have been allowed by either the Senegalese or the Gambian governments to continue their education at a North African university. One son of Sering Momadu Kah is working as a Quranic adviser to the Department of Education in Banjul, while another son teaches Arabic at the Collège Franco-Arabe in Dakar. After being educated in the one case, in Tivaouane

and Cairo, and in the other, in Ker Cherno, Fouta Toro, St. Louis and Cairo; it is ironical that, through studying in North Africa on scholarships channelled through different governments, they have subsequently been integrated into different national systems of education. This has entailed learning the particular official language of government that serves as the main medium of instruction in state schools, so that, however much Tierno Momodu, Tierno Aliou, and Serigne Mass Kâ may have ignored the different areas of colonial influence in their movements as marabouts, the boundaries of the modern state are imposing new educational and linguistic restrictions on the traditional Islamic unity of the area.

Background				
A1 Age & Sex	M70+	M40+	M40+	M30+
A2 Birthplace	Ker Momadou Néné (S)	Ker Cherno Omar (G)	Ker Cherno Omar (G)	Medina-Bye-Mass
A3 Education	Quranic (Tierno Aliou Diallo, Sobuldé & Dianièt)	Quranic (Cherno Baba Jallow & Islamic law in Fouta Toro & St. Louis)	Quranic (Cherno Baba Jallow, Fouta Toro St. Louis, & University of Cairo). Crash French course in France.	Quranic (Serigne Ababacar Sy-Tivaouane, Universities in Beirut & Saudi Arabia).
A4 Occupation	Marabout	Marabout	Arabic teacher	Government Quranic teaching adviser
A5 Residence	Ker Cherno Omar (G)	Medina-Bye-Mass (G)	Dakar	Banjul
Senegambian Contact				
B1 Kin & Affines	Kin in Sobuldé, Dianièt & Dakar. Affines in Nioro & Ndiayekounda.	Kin in Casamance, Cayor & Dakar.	Kin & affines in Ker Cherno & Medina-bye-Mass.	Kin & affines in Dakar & Cayor.
B2 Occupation	(Talibés in Sine Saloum (& Casamance. Da'hira (in Kaolack.	(Talibés from Sine Saloum (attend his ziara in (Medina-Bye-Mass. Also a (leading participant in (ziara to Sobuldé.	-	-
B3 Religion	(Annual Ziara to (Sobuldé under his (auspices.		Attends ziara in Ker Cherno.	Attends ziara at Sobuldé & gamu to Tivaouane.
B4 Education	Quranic education in Sobuldé & Dianièt.	Quranic education in Fouta Toro & St. Louis.	Quranic education in Ker Cherno Omar.	Quranic education in Tivaouane.
Language Repertoire				
C1 HL1	Fula	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C2 HL2	-	Fula	Fula	a little Fula
C3 LWC (A2)	Wolof	Fula	Fula	Wolof
C4 L/Education (A3)	Arabic (Fula medium)	Arabic (Fula & Wolof media)	Arabic (Fula & Wolof media), French.	Arabic (Wolof medium).
C5 L/Religion	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
C6 LWC (A5)	Fula	Wolof	Wolof	Wolof
C7 WLs	Arabic & Fula	Arabic & Wolof	Arabic & French (works in Senegalese state educational system).	Arabic & a little English, Wolof
C8 OL1	-	a v. little English	French (from course organised by Senegalese government).	Has picked up a little English in Gambian government service.
C9 OL2	-	-	-	-
C10 S/G LWC	Fula & Wolof (B1 & B2) Arabic (B2 & B4) Fula (B4).	Wolof & Fula (B1) Arabic, Wolof & Fula (B2, B3, B4).	Wolof & Fula (B1) Fula & Arabic (B3).	Wolof (B1, B3, B4).
	XXIX:1	XXIX:2	XXIX:3	XXIX:4

Table XXIX: The Roles of Fula and Wolof among the Jallow of Ker Cherno Omar and the Kah of Medina-Bye-Mass (G).

Conclusion

The (3) groups of village settlements with particular ethnic affiliations and the (6) Senegambian families, considered in this section, illustrate the fundamental unity maintained between Senegalese and Gambian rural areas irrespective of national boundaries. Migratory patterns, whether from outside Senegambia, or within the territory subsequently divided by colonial rule, depended on a variety of factors. These included religious warfare, local rivalries, epidemics and avoidance of conscription or taxation. The need for new agricultural land was the reason most frequently cited for the foundation of a new village community.

This rural mobility, initially involving the migration of Tukulor families from Saloum (S) to Jokadu (G), Soninke families from the Upper River Division (G) to Haute Casamance (S), and Jola Buluf families from Casamance (S) to Kombo South (G), continues through the maintenance of close kinship links. Such contact includes frequent family reunions for naming ceremonies, weddings, funerals, the return from Mecca or the recitation of the Qur'ān. These ties have been reinforced by the continuing practice of endogamous marriages between members of these linked communities, as well as co-operation in Quranic education. The rural orientation of these villages has sometimes resulted in joint farming projects between kinsmen, leading to the movement of seasonal agricultural workers,[1] or cattle,

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1. nawetan (W.).

across the border. The ethnic solidarity evident among each group of villages was also reflected in their linguistic unity, with the ethnic mother tongue naturally serving as the language of wider communication with kin and affines in the neighbouring territory.

The families considered in this section differ from the village communities in that they illustrate the process of language shift, rather than language maintenance. The Bâ, the Touré, the Kâ and the Jammeh have shifted from their loyalty to their ethnic mother tongues to the dominant lingua franca of the locality, primarily in order to consolidate their position as traditional leaders or marabouts. In the first three cases, the families now identify themselves as Wolof, whereas the Jammeh have become (or have reverted to being) Mandinka. Despite this shift in language habits, the new home language, arising from their Wolofisation or Mandingisation, has become significant as their Senegambian language of wider communication for contact with kin and affines. Traces of their previous ethnic affiliations and successive migrations have emerged in such Senegambian contact, with the Jammeh retaining affinal ties with Serer families (such as the Bessane of Nioro), and the Kâ and the Jallow emphasizing Tukulor and Fulbe origins in their common pursuit of Islam.

The exception of these examples of changes in first language loyalties was the Bessane family of Nioro, who had maintained Serer 'Saloum Saloum' (Serer Sine) as their first language. However, their language repertoires have been modified by the migration of large numbers of

Wolof and Mandinka into the area, so that the mobility of some members of the family between Nioro and Illiassa has made them susceptible to the roles of Wolof or Mandinka as the lingua franca in each respective village. Wolof and Mandinka thus become second or third languages for the Bessane who intermarry with the Jammeh.

Apart from the migration of the collateral branch of Sait Maty Ba to Banjul, the continuing kinship and affinal ties between these families have served to link rural, rather than urban, communities. The speech communities, into which the collateral branches of each family have settled, may differ slightly. The Jallow of Ker Cherno, for example, have adopted the Tukulor 'Balwaalo' dialect of Fula, spoken in Sine Saloum, as their first language; but the continuing use of the Fula language has reinforced kinship and Islamic affiliations with Fulbe communities in Sobuldé and Dianièt (Casamance).

The solidarity between these village communities, with kin and affines in both countries, developed originally from a common ethnicity that embodies the transmission of a shared history and culture. Migration patterns may have resulted in the shifting of ethnic first language loyalties in some cases; but, in the context of contact across the Senegalo-Gambian border, the use of a common home language makes national differences (reflected in boundary divisions and official languages) appear artificial and irrelevant.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

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CONCLUSION

7.1. 'Bilingualism' in two official languages

Language teaching strategies in Senegal and the Gambia are in the process of shifting towards the teaching of French and English for more functional purposes in reaction to the acculturative orientation of colonial education. Although each metropolitan language was once a symbol of political, economic and cultural domination, it has been retained by both the Senegalese and Gambian governments as the most practical, 'nationist' solution, because of its 'supra-ethnic' and 'supra-local'[1] connotations in the multilingual African context. The official language has also the advantage of wide international currency. However, the use of each former colonial language as the unifying political medium at a national level, has inevitably entailed the parallel teaching in the two countries of both English and French, in order to promote unity at a regional and continental level.

The Gambian and Senegalese authorities cite pan-African solidarity[2] as one of the main reasons for

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1. See Fishman, J.A., 'Nationality-Nationalism and Nation-Nationism' in Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta (Eds.), Language Problems of Developing Nations, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1968, pp.39-51; see also next page.

2. See section (2.2), p.75.

the teaching of both English and French.[1] The Gambian government may regard the teaching of French as of particular importance in relation to Senegal, because of its dominant neighbouring position, but this language teaching strategy is also relevant to communication with other nearby Francophone states, such as Mali and Guinea. Senegal's English teaching strategy relates more generally to the currency of English as a world language, but it has been justified also in terms of contact with the Gambia.[2]

The disparity between current Senegalese and Gambian language teaching strategies, on the one hand, and actual patterns of language usage in Senegambian relations, on the other, can be partly attributed to difficulties in achieving fluency among secondary school leavers in both English and French. Apart from the pedagogical problems of achieving such competence in two foreign languages, different approaches to the teaching of the foreign language as a subject lead to variations in both the quality and quantity of those who take up the

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1. i.e. an 'OL1/L2 + FL1' typology, in which English may be the official language (OL) taught as a second language (L2)/medium of instruction, with French as the first foreign language subject on the curriculum, or vice versa. Cf. the sociolinguistic typologies of language developed by Stewart, W., 'An outline of linguistic typology for describing multilingualism' in Rice, F.A., Study of the Role of Second Languages in Asia, Africa and Latin America, Washington, 1962, pp.15-25; Ferguson,C.A., 'National sociolinguistic profile formulas' in Bright, W. (Ed.), Sociolinguistics, 1966, Mouton, The Hague, 1966, pp. 309-324.

2. See p. 77.

language at secondary level. The imbalance between the large numbers of Senegalese taking English as a compulsory subject throughout the seven years of lycée education, and the small numbers of Gambians opting to take French as an Ordinary, and then Advanced Level, subject for the West African School Certificate, arises from contrasting colonial legacies. The compulsory, more generalised nature of the French-influenced educational system in Senegal has achieved quantitatively superior results in foreign language teaching compared to the Gambian system. The latter, based on the British model, is characterised by freedom of choice for Ordinary and Advanced level subjects, leading to greater specialisation. The minute numbers opting to take French for public examinations in the Gambia, achieve in general a high level of fluency, accentuated by the opportunities available for them to specialise in French at the University of Dakar, and then in France. Nevertheless, the average Gambian secondary school leaver has very limited skill in French at his command, compared with his Senegalese counterpart's ability in English. The ideal of promoting regional and pan-African unity through the media of both English and French thus remains restricted by the qualitative and quantitative imbalance arising from two different foreign language teaching strategies, as well as by the small percentage of the population who gain access to secondary school. Enrolment rates, even at primary level, are still low, with the opportunity to reach competence in both English and French open only to the privileged minority who pass through the highly selective educational system of either country.

7.2. Language and 'nationism'[1]

The policy of using two international languages of wider communication, each with a 'neutral' role in 'nationist' politics, can be undermined by underlying colonial connotations when both languages are used round the same conference table. The initiative of using local languages rather than official languages for formal discussion between Senegal and the Gambia stems directly from the underlying unity of the area and its traditional cultural heritage. The recent emergence of local languages as a means for promoting Senegalo-Gambian relations can be interpreted as a recognition of the limitations of the former system, in which the aspirations of the educated elite at government level were expressed through the media of different foreign languages, reflecting different intellectual traditions. The conscious preference for the use of a common Senegambian language, in place of reliance on interpretation between English and French in diplomatic contact, illustrates the antithesis between the precocious ideal of 'bilingualism' in two foreign languages, and the more practical reality of resorting to a local *lingua franca* for communications across an artificial boundary.

The most significant recent shift in Senegalese and Gambian language policies relates to the identification of Senegambian languages with 'nationist' aspirations. The

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1. Following Fishman's (1968) distinction between political integration (*nationism*) and socio-cultural integration (*nationalism*).

republics of Senegal and the Gambia are typical of the multilingual African context in that international boundaries continue to cut across ethno-linguistic boundaries. The consolidation of the former colonial frontiers since the two nation states emerged in 1960 and 1965 necessitated the retention of the ex-metropolitan language, rather than risking the potentially separatist connotations[1] of developing a Senegambian language as official language. Nevertheless, in the second decade after Independence, new priorities have been identified. The limitations of communicating at a mass level through the official language have led to the political realisation that national unity can become a more significant ideological reality for the majority of the population through the medium of local languages. African authenticity may have been proclaimed by Senghor in the pan-African ideology of négritude, in conscious reaction to the acculturative implications of the colonial educational experience, but this ideology had to be expressed in the French language in order to gain international recognition for

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1. See Wallerstein, I., 'Ethnicity and National Integration', Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, No.3, October 1960, pp.137, 138; cf. Heinz Kloss's description of "exoglossic multitribal countries" in which the terms 'exoglossic' and 'tribal' "refer to radically divergent dimensions: one to hoped-for nationhood, the other to backward-harking tribalism..." (Kloss,H., 'Notes concerning a Language-Nation Typology' in Fishman, Ferguson & Das Gupta, (Eds.)(1968:77)).

its protest.[1] On the other hand, for the development of what Fishman calls "secure political-operational consolidation" in the evolution of the nation state,[2] mass consensus depends on a more emotive, localised use of national rather than official languages. The paradox of using Senegambian languages to foster regional integration becomes apparent with the increasing recognition that closer co-operation between Senegal and the Gambia can best be fostered by this medium. National and international aspirations for co-operation and unity can thus be enhanced through emphasis on a common linguistic heritage.

7.3. A contemporary form of 'diglossia'?

Greater dependence on a local language of wider communication, to enhance closer political co-operation, represents a decisive shift towards a more flexible pattern

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1. The expression of this cultural re-affirmation through the medium of the colonial language was in many ways inevitable. Jahn (1966, re-ed.1968:259) has argued that recourse to a European language was an essential aspect of Black intellectual liberation from the assimilative and servile influences of the colonial experience. Irele, in interpreting négritude in its broad historical perspective as an example of "counter-acculturation" (1965:348), identifies the same paradoxical significance of Western influences on the development of this ideology (1965:522): "Senghor's négritude, for example, is an anti-intellectualism mediated by the intellect, and the whole movement is expressed through a Western mould which absorbs African realities. In short, négritude is a break with tradition: although African in content, it is Western in its formal expression..

2. See Fishman, J.A., 'The Impact of Nationalism on Language and Language Planning' in Language and Nationalism, Newbury House Publishers, Rowley, Massachusetts, 1972, p.43.

of language usage. There is thus a weakening of the earlier rigid categorisation into linguistic domains, in which 'high prestige' official languages monopolised formal situations. English and French still embody considerable status as the languages of upward social mobility within the Republics of the Gambia and Senegal, respectively. However, the admission that Senegambian languages can be used alongside (or instead of) English and French by those in diplomatic or commercial contact with the neighbouring country detracts from the description of such speech communities as exemplifying "diglossia of a more modern sort" (Fishman, 1968). The concept of diglossia was originally applied to societies in which 'high' and 'low' varieties of the same language serve complementary, but separate functions (Ferguson, 1959). This tended to embody the hierarchical connotations of a 'superior' literary language, as opposed to the 'inferior' colloquial variety. Fishman (1968:pp. 45,46) extended this concept to "new nations in Africa and Asia" in which he noted the tendency "to assign all local languages equally to their respective home, family and neighbourhood domains, and to utilise a single, major European language (usually English or French) for all more formal, statusful and specialised domains." The particular status embodied in Ferguson's 'high variety' is readily identifiable with the official languages of government in Senegal and the Gambia, not only because of the respective colonial strategy of imposing a foreign language, but also because of the international currency that these languages command. Nevertheless, although the use of Wolof as an oral medium

of communication among diplomats and ministers, involved in Sengalo-Gambian co-operation, presents an incursion into situations hitherto dominated by English and French; the other major areas of Senegambian contact also fail to provide a clearcut distinction between official and local language usage. The so-called 'exclusive' function of particular languages within a speech community emerges from this study as never being absolute. It is therefore difficult to reconcile this expedient approach, governing language choice in Senegambia, with its over-simplified categorisation as diglossia.

In the sociolinguistic section, inter-state co-operation, religion, commerce and road transport emerge as the principal work domains in which occasional contact across the border has taken place. Such contact has arisen in professional role-relationships in which the government representative tried to communicate with his counterpart round the conference table; the trader tried to gain the commercial initiative in the market-place; the taxi-driver tried to avoid trouble with police patrols or border officials; and the priest or marabout taught and guided his Christian parishioners or Muslim talibés. All these work domains necessitated flexibility in language usage, rather than reliance on a single medium of communication, or on an interpreter.

Contact between adherents of similar Christian or Muslim persuasion from Senegal and the Gambia has been facilitated by the use of local languages, as well as the official language of worship, in both church and mosque (4.2). Language usage in this context could not be

determined solely by domain or locale, since the communicative competence[1] of the congregation had to be taken into account. The diglossic interpretation of the inter-relationship between linguistic domains, according to their status and function in the speech community, fails to allow for the impracticability of utilising a foreign language as a means of ready communication with the mass population. However much prestige the official language may embody, limited enrolment rates in the formal educational system[2] undermine its exclusive usage in the context of public worship. Local languages of wider communication are needed by both religions for preaching and exegesis, based either on the teaching of the Bible, or for the explanation of the Qur'ān. Islam facilitates public worship throughout Senegambia by using classical Arabic as the official language of the Mosque, whereas Churches in Senegal and the Gambia employ the official language of government. Unity with Christians across the border can thus only be fostered through the use of common Senegambian languages within church services.

Although the official language of worship and government embodies particular prestige in both countries, professional contacts have also necessitated recourse to

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1. Dell Hymes's (1971) identification of communicative competence is preferred to the widely misused term bilingualism, because it specifically relates language proficiency to social communication:- thus necessitating not just knowledge about the structure of the language, but also the ability to speak appropriately in different social contexts.

2. See p.204, fn.2.

Sénegambian languages. In the context of the conference room, the church or the mosque, formal usage of an official language (i.e. French, English or Arabic) may have been prescribed initially, but this hierarchical interpretation of 'high' and 'low' status languages has had to be modified by frequent code switching, in order to gain the initiative, or in order to communicate at a mass level. In the locales of the market place and the taxi garage, both the trader and the taxi-driver require some knowledge of commercial and transport terminology in English and French, as well as Senegalese and Gambian currencies, depending on the nationality of the client. Nevertheless, as in the domains of the diplomat, the trader, the priest and the marabout, it is often essential to be able to switch codes for direct communication with 'clients' or counterparts. Political and commercial expedience have thus necessitated complex linguistic repertoires, which, in the Senegambian context, have tended to favour a primary choice among a variety of local lingue franche in conjunction with, or instead of, the official language.

7.4. The speech habits of temporary and permanent Senegambian migrants.

Apart from Senegalese or Gambian informants with occasional contact across the border, a fundamental distinction has been made in this study between those who migrated seasonally or temporarily, and those who had migrated permanently. The purpose has been to establish

how far variables, such as the length or frequency of contact (Mackey, 1962), affect language usage. Individuals involved in professional role relationships, based on occasional mobility across the border, have had to rely on using existing linguistic repertoires for communication, through having had inadequate time in the new speech community to acquire any other lingua franca. On the other hand, many temporary or permanent migrants were found to have reached some competence in new languages of wider communication, particularly when these also served as trading languages. For example, in the study on temporary migration (Ch.5), (22) migrant workers claimed to have reached communicative competence in Wolof, (35) in Mandinka and (16) in Fula. Despite the significance of these second languages of wider communication in Senegambia, it should be emphasized that an additional (29) informants thought that their Wolof had improved during labour migration, with all (193) people interviewed in this section using Wolof as their main language for socio-economic contact in the town to which they had initially migrated on a short-term basis.

A sustained pattern of seasonal migration, or prolonged periods in the same locality, occasionally resulted in some knowledge of the second official language. The wider currency of the official language as a lingua franca in Dakar led to the assertion by (12/24) Gambian Mandinka informants that they could communicate in French in their work domain, despite no formal study of the language. In the Gambia, on the other hand, only (9/169)

migrants made similar claims about their knowledge of the official language. The sample of Gambians in Senegal however, was limited to the capital city in which Wolof and French are the two lingue franche, whereas the sample of Senegalese in the Gambia covered a variety of market places through the country in which Mandinka, Fula and, in some cases, Krio (Aku) also functioned as languages of wider communication.

Those who had migrated permanently into the neighbouring territory provided examples of the process of language shift[1] in which habitual language usage had been influenced by the lingue franche of the new speech community. The same process was evident among some of the seasonal migrants, but contact with the new socio-cultural environment had not generally been prolonged enough to affect decisively first language loyalties and ethnic affiliations. The limited currency of the official languages of government[2] resulted in the temporary migrant generally having little need for English or French in his work domain. The temporary migrant labourer sometimes extended his language repertoire to include the lingue franche of the speech community to which he returned each year. However this did not necessarily involve any change in home language,

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1. The concepts of language maintenance and language shift, arising from Haugen's (1953; 1973) and Fishman's (1964; 1966) research into language loyalties and societal bilingualism among immigrant communities in the United States, are discussed more fully in the study on permanent migration, chapter 6, p. 386; pp.477, 478.

2. See p.204.

and rarely included fluency in the second official language. The phenomenon of replacing the first language by a local lingua franca was more evident among second or third generation descendants of permanent migrants who had settled in a new speech community.

It has been shown in the sociolinguistic study that the process of the Wolofisation of the Mulatto (4.3.3.1.) the Oku (4.3.4.) and the Mandinka (5.1.5.) did not always lead to the complete abandonment of ethnic loyalties. It was not possible to conduct a comprehensive anthropological inquiry into the actual extent to which ethnic ties may have been modified by changes in language habits. Nevertheless, it was evident that, amidst the diverse choice of languages of wider communication in Senegambia, the interdependence between processes of linguistic assimilation and acculturation was not automatic. The assertion that speaking a language fluently, or being conversant with its literature, results in cultural as well as linguistic assimilation (Orde Brown and Bryant Mumford, n.d.:47) has already been questioned.[1] The assumption that sectarian religious affiliations succeed in transforming ethnolinguistic loyalties (Cruise O'Brien, 1971: 242) likewise appears to be an over-simplification in the multilingual Senegambian context.[2] The tendency to use the terms

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1. i.e. Assimilation to French culture and civilisation at the expense of indigenous customs and beliefs, see p.24.

2. i.e. The Wolofisation (in the linguistic and acculturative sense) of talibés from other ethnic groups who join the Muridiyya, see p. 200.

'assimilation' and 'acculturation' indiscriminately, without taking into account the complex changes inherent in these processes, has been criticised with particular reference to French colonial strategy.[1] The latter's characteristic ethnocentric orientation through the medium of the French language clearly did not necessarily achieve the degree of assimilation anticipated by the colonial authorities, if counter-reactionary movements like négritude could emerge. The inter-relationship between linguistic and acculturative influence remains difficult to define precisely,[2] and thus has not been attempted in the study on patterns of language usage.

Adaptation to the new socio-cultural environment in which a migrant settles can of course fundamentally modify his language habits. The concept of language loyalty (Weinreich, 1953:99) is closely related to that of language maintenance, since its "high position in a scale of values, a position in need of being 'defended'" can be the determining factor in resistance to linguistic assimilation. One may apply the concept of language loyalty in the

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1. See Chapter 1.

2. On studies focussing on the complexity of the acculturative process, and the particular difficulties of determining the actual extent of Westernising influences in Senegal, see Mercier, P., 'Evolution of Senegalese Elites', International Social Science Bulletin, No.8, 1956, pp.441-451 (reprinted in Van Den Berghe, P.L.(Ed.), Africa (Social Problems of Change and Conflict), Chandler Publishing Company, San Francisco, 1965, pp.163-178); Fougeyrollas, P., Modernisation des Hommes, Flammarion, Paris, 1967, pp.112-128 & 161-167.

Senegambian context to self-identity at a local level, as well as to individual aspirations at a national level. Language loyalty was exemplified in the retention of the ethnic mother tongue of the migrant worker in the new speech community, but it was also evident in the migrant's recognition of the official language of his country of origin as a symbol of his 'nationist' affiliations. This nationist reaction[1] appeared from the sample to have been stimulated by movement to the neighbouring territory, since the migrant's perception of his own future (arising from the nature of his migration) could result in a closer identification with the official language of his home territory.[2] This self-conscious 'nationism' was evident among some of the seasonal migrants who, although not necessarily themselves fluent in the official language of their country of origin, opted to educate their children in schools where it served as the medium of instruction. It was also illustrated by migrant groups who had not reconciled themselves to settling permanently in the new speech community. For example, the attachment of the Mulatto sector of the population in Banjul (4.3.3.) to the official language of their area of origin (i.e. French) was illustrated by the custom of sending their children to be educated in St.

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1. c.f. Section (7.2.).

2. Gumperz (1968, reprinted 1971:123) referred to language loyalty as "a symbol of a particular nationality group" which "tends to unite local groups and social classes, whose members may continue to speak their own vernaculars within the family circle."

Louis, Gorée or Dakar. This language loyalty may have been accentuated by the social and professional prestige that French once represented within their families (because of their patrilineage); but the option for French-medium education appears to have continued for the second, and sometimes even the third, generation in the Gambia. Another example was shown by the group solidarity of the Gambian Oku (4.3.4.), which had been reinforced by close ties with the parent community in Freetown. This resulted in an increased awareness of their 'Yoruba' ethnic origins and a parallel official language loyalty to English. In contrast, the weakening of ties between kin in Freetown and relatives who had migrated to Senegal had influenced the shifting of both home and official language loyalties among the Senegalese Oku to Wolof and French, respectively. The study on the Oku from Freetown thus showed how the varying influence of social, psychological and economic factors in different speech communities could decisively affect the process of language maintenance or language shift.

The shifting of language loyalties has had particular significance in the case of Senegambian families who have needed to consolidate their social position in a new locality. The phenomenon of language shift was seen to be most pronounced among families who, on migrating into a new speech community, sought to play a major role in local leadership or in the propagation of Islam (6.2.). The new home language tended to be the dominant lingua franca of the locality; so that families of Fulbe origin, like the Bâ, became Wolofised; the Jammeh lost their Serer

affiliations to become Mandingised (or, having been of Sererised gellwar origin, became Mandingised again); the Touray, being of Soninke/Manding origin, became Wolofised; the Jallow shifted their first language loyalties from the 'Fouta Djalon' dialect of Fula to the 'Balwaalo' dialect, spoken by migrants of Tukulor descent in Sine Saloum. Branches of these families subsequently migrated again, or found themselves divided by the colonial boundary for a variety of professional, economic, agricultural or religious reasons; but, in all cases, the new home language (adopted after their initial migration into the area) has survived as the language used for contact across the border.

In contrast to these examples of individual families, whose language habits had altered after migrating into the Senegambia region, the process of language maintenance was shown in the study on village communities (6.1.) in the retention of the ethnic language of the leading patrilineage.[1] Nevertheless, in the studies both of Senegambian families and village communities, contact with the neighbouring state was seen to depend primarily on the maintenance of kinship ties. The use of a common home language in such contact served to emphasize group solidarity across the border.

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1. i.e. the family of the Alcali (village chief), who, in the case of those interviewed, tended to have also been responsible for the original foundation of the settlement.

7.5. The shifting 'social-psychological' factor

The section on language usage has covered a range of socio-cultural variables which affect contact between the inhabitants of Senegal and the Gambia. It has concentrated in particular on the occupational aspect of this contact, varying in duration from occasional mobility to seasonal, or permanent, migration between speech communities with different official languages. The 'social-psychological' factor[1] embodies a less diglossic situation in contemporary Senegal and the Gambia than that which existed under colonial domination. The heritage of the 'superiority' of the French language in relation to local languages, emphasized in colonial cultural policy,[2] may have made the distinction between formal and informal locales more pronounced in Senegal than in the Gambia.

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1. Cf. Greenberg, J.H., 'Urbanism, Migration and Language' (1965), reprinted in Language, Culture and Communication (Essays selected by A.S. Dil), Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1971, p.209.

2. Cf. Chapter 1. Further evidence on French ethno-centric cultural policies is evident in Yves Person's comments on the Manding (1972:8): "..Bien qu'ils aient presque tous été soumis au système colonial français qui a visé systématiquement non seulement à l'exploitation économique, comme les Britanniques, mais encore au génocide culturel, leur civilisation traditionnelle est restée remarquablement vivace..." Cissoko and Sambou (1974:2), when collecting oral traditions among the Manding in the Gambia and Casamance in 1969, noted a sharp differential in cultural impact: "Il est d'ailleurs frappant de constater une grande différence entre le Gambie et la Casamance. Les Mandingues de la Gambie, groupé dans de gros villages, se souviennent plus fidèlement du passé que ceux de la Casamance et du Sénegal gambien et leur traditions sont plus riches. Il est à noter que les écoles sont moins nombreuses en Gambie et les lettrés dans les langues européennes rares par rapport à la Casamance..."

However, professionals in occasional contact and short-term and long-term migrants, interviewed on both sides of the border, have appeared to be more flexible about language usage than the diglossic typology of language usage implies. Even in the political context, a less affective, more functional attitude to language usage has been developing from a less rigid categorisation between the role of the official language and the domains in which local languages could be used. Diglossia certainly existed during the colonial period, emphasizing the 'superiority' of the official language of the metropole, but, although colonial language policies in the Gambia were less culturally monopolistic and romanticised,[1] English has embodied the same symbolic value as French in the neighbouring territory. The smaller gap in the Gambia between the prestige of the official language and that of local languages encouraged an earlier development of more flexible attitudes to language usage. The Senegalese government has exploited such Gambian attitudes in order to overcome antipathies to closer co-operation which appeared to be accentuated by the use of colonial languages.

The socio-cultural context of Senegalo-Gambian relations is thus counteracting the divisive hierarchy of languages inherited from each colonial power. The shift towards the more unifying potential of local languages reflects political aspirations for closer co-operation.

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1. See Chapter 1; cf. Calvet, L-J. (1974:84): "...sans aller jusqu'à accorder au colonialisme anglais un label de libéralisme linguistique, il faut cependant reconnaitre que les composantes juridiques et idéologiques y sont moins sauvages, moins paranoiaques que dans le colonialisme français..."

This political interest has also inspired nationalist movements in Senegal and the Gambia to seek a "révalorisation" of their traditional cultural heritage and languages. This development contrasts with the expense and inconvenience necessitated by the choice of either using English/French interpretation, or having personnel fluent in both official languages.

7.6. Modifications to the linguistic hierarchy within Senegambian speech communities.

The gradual erosion of the prestige attached to European languages, inherited from the cultural imperialism of the colonial epoch, appears to be the most significant linguistic development in contemporary Senegal and the Gambia. The increasing shift in the comparative prestige ratings of Senegambian languages affects one of the arguments used to justify the exclusive role of French in colonial language teaching strategy,[1] and its continuing function as the official language in Senegal.[2] The use of the French language has been upheld through reference to its special, intrinsic attributes of "clarté" and "logique", but the consequent assumption of linguistic superiority implies the relative shortcomings of African (and other) languages in this respect.

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1. Cf. Hardy, G. (1933:172).

2. See Chapter 2, section (2.1.).

At the local level, relative prestige attributed to a particular variety of an African language may lead to its adoption in the standardisation of the language for teaching purposes, or to the use of speakers of a widely acceptable 'common' medium for radio broadcasting.[1] On the other hand, neither Radio Gambia nor the Office de Radiodiffusion Télévision du Sénégal (ORTS) appeared in 1976 to have clearly defined official policies on this controversial issue of dialect choice. This may have been deliberate, since radio producers on both sides of the border cited frequent complaints from different sectors of the listening public about the time allocated to a particular variety of a language at the expense of their own. They thus found it advantageous to be flexible in their choice of speakers of different language varieties. A wide choice, rather than a rigid, prescriptive approach to the use of a particular Senegambian language, or a variety of a language, characterises radio broadcasting at national levels in Senegal and the Gambia.

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1. Broadcasting language policy has only been examined briefly in this study but is being included in this section because of its relevance to the prestige accorded to official languages, on the one hand; and to the more practical expedient of maximum communication through local language usage, on the other.
On broadcasting in Senegal in general, see Rita Cruise O'Brien, 'The role of Broadcasting in National Development: Senegal case study', Department of Adult Education, Manchester, June 1975; 'Professionalism in broadcasting: Case studies of Algeria and Senegal', Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Discussion paper, no.101, December 1976, pp.3-23.

The deliberate avoidance of a particular Senegambian language, at the expense of others, characterizes other aspects of Senegalese and Gambian national language policies. The Senegalese government's choice of six national languages, and the Gambian government's identification of three languages of wider communication for teaching purposes, arises from similar decisions not to give exclusive priority to the most widely understood lingua franca at a national level (in the first case, Wolof; in the second, Mandinka). The same consideration has probably influenced the current status of Wolof as the purely de facto language of wider communication between the two countries at inter-state level, because of the resentment that its elevation to more official status would cause among those for whom Wolof is not a first language.

National broadcasting in both countries includes the most widely spoken national languages, as well as the respective official language of government. In ORTS, the national service (la chaîne nationale) broadcasts in Wolof more than any other national language,[1] although this practice has not resulted from any Government directive, or explicit radio language policy. It would be a mistake to interpret the national service's frequent recourse to Wolof as "the most powerful instrument of Wolofisation in the country" (Cruise O'Brien,R., 1975). The term 'Wolofisation' is here being misleadingly applied to a

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1. Out of 133 broadcasting hours a week in January 1976, 87 hours 25 minutes were in the medium of a national language, whereas French was the main language for the remainder (Information the courtesy of the Service de la Recherche et Documentation, ORTS, Dakar).

context in which it can only refer to patterns of language usage, and not to the cultural assimilation implicit in this process. The major role of the Wolof language in Senegalese national broadcasting reflects its wide currency in the country at large. At the same time, in keeping with the Government's concern that Wolof should not be encouraged at the expense of other less widely spoken national languages, a conscious effort appears to be made to allocate broadcasting time to other linguistic media,[1] despite no official policy directives on this question. In Senegal, like the Gambia, lingue franche (with local, as opposed to international status)[2] are sometimes used on the national service (and, particularly, in the regional stations of ORTS). The 'prestige' of the official language thus becomes less important than the need to communicate with the maximum number of the listening public on the chaîne nationale.

In contrast, at an international level, the question of national prestige leads to greater dependence on the official language as the almost exclusive[3] broadcasting

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1. See Procès-Verbal du Conseil Consultatif des Programmes de l'Office de Radiodiffusion Télévision du Sénégal, mai 1975, statement by Mme Annette Mbaye d'Erneville (Directrice des programmes radio), p.20.

2. e.g. Broadcasts in Bambara, Bainuk and Crioulo on ORTS; broadcasts in Jola Foñi, Serahuli and Karoninka on Radio Gambia.

3. Apart from Portuguese, Arabic and English, each chosen for their international currency.

medium on chaîne inter (the second Senegalese radio channel). On this channel the 'image' of Senegal projected to the outside world emerges as the main consideration. The French language has been retained as the main vehicle for realising this objective, but even this option may now be subject to modification since the question of broadcasting in Fula has been raised for investigation and further discussion.[1] The use of West African languages of wider communication like Fula on chaîne inter could contribute to reducing the influence of the 'colonial' hierarchy of language ratings that persists even in the sphere of broadcasting. The antithesis between language broadcasting options at chaîne inter and chaîne nationale levels arises from the projection in the former case of an élitist cultural image, sustained by a virtual monopoly of French language programmes.

The initiative already taken by the programme 'Cosaani Senegambi', in using Wolof as the broadcasting medium to focus on the common cultural and historical heritage of Senegambia, questions the assumption that the national image can only be projected through the official language. The commentary in this joint Radio Gambia/ORTS production has been in Wolof since its inception in 1973. The Senegalese and Gambian producers of this programme, not sharing any political illusions about official language usage in inter-state co-operation,

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1. See Procès-Verbal du Conseil Consultatif des Programmes de l'Office de Radiodiffusion Télévision du Sénégal, Mai 1975, pp.32, 33.

have concentrated from the onset on communication at a mass level in order to stress the historical unity of the area.[1]

Beyond the confines of Senegambia, Fula and Manding enjoy greater significance than Wolof as languages of wider communication. The wide currency of these two languages across West Africa enables them to be described as 'regional languages of wider communication'. Their strong cultural connotations for first language speakers have resulted in renewed efforts to stimulate usage since Independence. Such concern reflects the Senegalese government's concern to 'upgrade' Senegambian languages in reaction to the insignificance of indigenous languages in French colonial cultural policy. The desire to safeguard a specific ethno-linguistic heritage may also have been influenced by increasing awareness of the process of language shift that arises on migration to urban speech communities. In the Senegambian context, the wide currency of a lingua franca like Wolof in urban areas presents a threat[2] to first language loyalties, which can result in a deliberate emphasis on the 'special' characteristics of the language in question, and its role as the embodiment of a particular cultural heritage.

The Fula language emerges as the only Senegambian regional language with a formal (but non-governmental)

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1. It is however significant that Radio Gambia suspended the broadcasting of this programme in the Gambia from August to November 1974, following border incidents between the two countries.

2. The major role of Wolof in both Senegalese and Gambian market areas has been demonstrated in Chapter 4, sections (4.3; 4.4) and Chapter 5.

organisational framework for the promotion of its cultural and linguistic interests. The cultural revival surrounding renewed concern for the future of the Fula language in the early 1960s led to the Association des Jeunes Poular being renamed the Association pour la Renaissance du Pulaar (Fedde ɓamtoore pular) in 1965. Although the original membership included Fulɓe students at the University of Dakar from other parts of West Africa, the Association has been particularly involved in linguistic development in Senegal. For example, it is actively concerned with the realisation of Senegal's current national language teaching strategy, and in the conception of literacy programmes in Fula, now organised in conjunction with the Direction de l'Alphabétisation (Secretariat d'Etat a la Promotion Humaine). It has also been associated with the weekly radio programme on the chaîne nationale: 'Al-Pulaaren'.

The Manding language enjoys particular cultural prestige in West Africa through its connection with the Mali empire (at its height during the thirteenth century), the impact of which has been carefully preserved in a rich heritage of oral traditions. The epic theme 'Manden tè ban-na' (Manding is eternal) in Manding civilisation was celebrated at the Manding conference (organised by the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in 1972), to which both Senegal and the Gambia sent national delegations. The regional significance of the Manding heritage was emphasized by President Senghor in his paper 'Le mandingue

dans la civilisation soudano-sahelienne', while another Senegalese contributor, Pathé Diagne, concentrated on the significance of the Manding language as a unifying instrument in the West Africa region.[1] Among the West African states represented at this conference as having been influenced by Manding civilisation, only Sir Dawda Jawara, the President of the Gambia, can be said to have since made a point of using the language as a medium for stressing political unity with Mandingophone neighbours.[2]

Opposition to the official recognition of the emergent role of Wolof as the main vehicle for promoting Senegambian relations at the Permanent Inter-state level, could be encountered from the Mandinka inhabitants of Senegambia. Such potential opposition would reflect the importance the Manding people attach to their language and to its identity with their ancient civilisation. Its description as the "langue claire Kan-gbé", which Niane (1975:300) once compared to the virtues of clarté and précision ascribed to the French language, gives a misleading impression that its linguistic superiority is similarly derived from innate, special qualities. However.

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1. Diagne, P., 'La Mandinguophonie nord soudanienne comme facteur d'unification ouest-africaine'. The as yet unpublished papers of the Manding conference 1972 can be found in the Africa room of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

2. See p. 161 . Apart from President Jawara's speeches in Mandinka on official visits to the Republics of Mali, Guinea and Guinea-Bissau, President Moussa Traoré of Mali followed his example during the 11th anniversary of Independence celebrations in Banjul, February, 1976.

its high prestige and 'clarity', or wide intelligibility, appear to arise from the identification of Kan-gbè with Maninka, the variety of the language spoken in the Manding heartland on the borders of southern Mali. Dalby (1971: 4) attributes the wide currency of this "langue claire" not only to its prestigious historical associations, but also to its central geographic and linguistic position in the ancient Manding Empire of Mali. It is evident from Niane's other references to the "langue claire de la savane" in Soundiata ou L'Epopée Mandingue[1] that Kan-gbè represented the "langue claire par excellence" in Soundiata's centre of government. It has thus come to be regarded by the Manding people as being superior to other varieties of the language, as well as to neighbouring languages in the region.

In contrast to the historical and cultural prestige surrounding the Manding language, Krio still embodies the inferior connotations with which it was condemned during the colonial period.[2] Despite its role as a first language for the Aku and Oku population in Banjul, misconceptions that it constitutes a 'prostituted' or 'bastardised' form of English discourage its usage for teaching, or in formal situations. Nevertheless, as seen from comments made by Soninke (4.3.6.) as well as Oku (4.3.4.) tradesmen in the Gambia, Krio enjoys some currency

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1. See Niane, D.T., Soundiata ou l'Epopée Mandingue, Présence Africaine, Paris, 1960, pp.20, 102, 103, 115. He follows Manding traditions in contrasting the "langue claire de la savane" with the "forêt, pays sombre..."

2. See pp.43,44; 62,63.

in commercial contact with Sierra Leone. Even in Freetown, despite the greater role of Krio as a lingua franca than in Banjul, assumptions that "Krio no get grama"[1] have prevented it from being considered as a language in its own right. This downgrading of home languages can be attributed to unfortunate comparisons with the language of the metropole.

Such outlooks appear to be changing. Shifts in language habits are reflecting the increasing significance of languages in a national, as opposed to a metropolitan, context. The use of Wolof and Mandinka, and the possibility of using Fula in radio broadcasts, and for promoting regional co-operation, seem to be undermining the previous assumption that only the official, ex-colonial language could be used to project political interests beyond national boundaries. Differences between West African and European varieties of English and French inevitably arise in different socio-cultural and linguistic contexts. However, once divergences from an arbitrary metropolitan standard are recognised for their local significance, inimical value judgements about superior and inferior varieties of a language may begin to be undermined.

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1. Leo Spitzer cites this popular Freetown aphorism in 'Creole Attitudes towards Krio', Sierra Leone Language Review, No.5, 1966, p.39. The Sierra Leonean writer, Thomas Dekker, has satirised the ambiguous attitudes of the Creoles towards their language as 'Boss Cokerism' (See Spitzer, 1966, ibid).

7:7. Conclusion: Towards an integrated typology of language policy and usage.

Mobility between Senegal and the Gambia has necessarily entailed linguistic flexibility. At a political level, language usage has reflected a recent desire for greater co-operation between the two governments. After the official languages had dominated the first eight years of 'association', Wolof became the *de facto* medium for oral communication between the governments in 1975, with official languages retained for written communication and records.

The strategy of teaching English and French in an official language/foreign language typology does not reflect patterns of language usage between the two countries. Since few students achieve communicative competence in both English and French, the functional potential of these languages for promoting inter-state co-operation is undermined. At national, commercial and local levels, other solutions involving indigenous *lingue franche* (sometimes in conjunction with the official language) have been found. The one area in which language choice has remained constant is in contact between Senegalese and Gambian kin and affines. The use of the official language has obviously been irrelevant in this context, because of the affective role of the home language in emphasizing ties of kinship. The use of Senegambian languages as teaching media may thus begin to redress the imbalance of colonial language teaching legacies, while the current, more functional emphasis on the teaching of the official language

detracts from its 'superior' role in the linguistic hierarchy of both speech communities.

A desire to find localised solutions to national language problems, rather than passively to accept the perpetuation of metropolitan policies, has been demonstrated by the concern in both Senegal and the Gambia to integrate their linguistic and cultural heritage into their respective educational systems. The consequent shift in the role of each official language may fundamentally affect the socially divisive aspects of established strategies, in which a rift has been created between those educated through the medium of the official language and those who have not had this opportunity. Political initiatives have thus been effectively restricted to the small sector of the population who speak English or French.

A reaction against this continuing dependence on the former metropolitan language, as official language, is already radically affecting attitudes to English and French in areas of the world formerly (or still) subject to colonial rule. Calvet's antithesis between "langue dominée" and "langue dominante" arises from his interpretation of the exploitative role of the metropolitan language in the colonial context as "la glottophagie".[1] He identifies (1974:39) neo-colonialism in the developing world as a

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1. In Linguistique et Colonialisme (1974:12), Louis-Jean Calvet introduces the notion of glottophagie as follows: "... le premier anthropophage est venu d'Europe, il a devoré le colonisé. Et, au plan particulier qui nous concerne, il a devoré ses langues, glottophage donc..."

situation in which he sees "le maintien linguistique étant à la fois condition et masque du maintien politique et économique". Dany Bébel-Gisler (1976) has detected the same ideological relationship in colonial strategy between social stratification, economic exploitation and cultural dispossession, as symbolised in the privileged role accorded to French at the expense of Creole, the first language for the majority of the population of the French West Indies.[1] Political and cultural autonomy in Somalia has been more effectively safeguarded by the decision to disregard a complex colonial heritage through the establishment of Somali as both official and national language.[2] Such countries are characterised by changing attitudes to languages as governments seek to formulate truly national solutions to their language problems.

The new language policies now evolving in Africa do not fit an identical typology. In Somalia, the subsequent relegation of the English and Italian languages to foreign language status in 1972 has presented a functional solution that other more multilingual states have been in a less favourable position to adopt. In such cases, the ex-colonial language has been retained for the

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1. Dany Bébel-Gisler (1976:182) describes Guadeloupe as "une situation socio-historique où depuis trois siècles la langue et la culture étrangères sont valorisées aux depens de la langue et de la culture nationale guadeloupéennes..."

2. On the implications of this decision for the Somali people, see Laitin, D.D., Politics, Language and Thought, the University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1977.

same integrative 'nationist' reasons which led to the Somali government's decision to change their language policy. An alternative strategy in complex multilingual situations, as demonstrated by recent developments in Senegal and the Gambia, is nevertheless feasible, provided that a determined effort to upgrade the political and social status of local lingue franche is encouraged. The need to communicate on a mass, rather than a minority scale, has been recognised by both the Senegalese and Gambian governments as a key factor in the evolution of the two Republics, but a parallel modification in the status and function of the official languages has yet to be realised. At the same time, the Senegambian situation reflects the dangers of according official status to a major language of wider communication, like Wolof, until social-psychological attitudes to local languages adjust to accord priority to the expedient of using a selected language as a democratic, rather than an elitist instrument.

The different linguistic typologies that underlie individual national language policies may appear to be similar at a glance, but closer examination of current practices in Senegal and the Gambia has revealed the special combination of cultural experiences and priorities that influence the formulation of each state's language teaching strategies. The inter-relationship between policy and usage is constantly liable to fluctuation and modification. Language teaching strategies may neglect the languages that the mass population in fact

use, when the monopoly has been given in the formal educational system to the teaching of the official language. However, whatever strategies may be formulated at government level, this study has shown that such nationist solutions cannot determine local responses to the need to communicate in major areas of contact across the Senegambian region, whether political, commercial, religious or social. The new approaches to first and second language teaching, which both the Senegalese and Gambian governments are in the process of adopting, mark a decisive re-orientation of formal educational planning. It is significant to the political development of both states that a new principle, advocating direct inter-action between language teaching policy and the socio-linguistic context, now appears to be fundamental.

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